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ANTIENT JERUSALEM.

A NEW INVESTIGATION

INTO THE

HISTORY, TOPOGRAPHY, AND PLAN

OF THE

CITY, ENVIRONS, AND TEMPLE:

DESIGNED PRINCIPALLY TO ILLUSTRATE THE RECORDS AND PROPHECIES OF SCRIPTURE.

With Map, Plans, and other Illustrations.

BY

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PREFACE.

No one who has visited Jerusalem can help feeling that he has enjoyed a great privilege in being thus enabled the more readily and vividly to picture to himself in after years those scenes amid which so many of the events of the Bible were transacted, and a just conception of which furnishes so much that is necessary towards a true appreciation and interpretation of the sacred writings.

The interest which attaches to these scenes has encouraged very many of those personally conversant with them to give to the public the journals of their wanderings through them, and the accounts of the impressions produced upon their own minds at the time. And many have made a still better use of the advantages they have thus enjoyed, by employing them as a starting-point from which to carry on, partly on the spot, and partly on subsequent occasions, a systematic investigation into the topography of the antient city. The labours of preceding authors have however left abundant room for a fresh work upon the subject. Prevalent errors with respect to some of the principal points in the antient topography of Jerusalem have not yet been removed; and the most important object to which investigations of this kind can be directed—the elucidation of the writings of the Old Testament—has of late years been, comparatively speaking, either depreciated or neglected.

In treating of Jerusalem in the following pages, I have accordingly endeavoured to keep the one great aim of biblical illustration constantly in view; and though I have occasionally found it necessary to dwell upon points which the Scriptures do not directly bring before us, or to glance at subsequent passages in the history of the city, such digressions must be viewed throughout as only subsidiary to the main purpose of the volume.

I trust however that I shall not be understood as wishing in any way to disparage the works of those of whose labours I have made use, or to appropriate any portion of the merit which justly belongs to them. Of the works which the reader will find quoted in the course of the volume, some need no commendation from me; and there is not one of them which may not be perused, and which I have not myself perused, both with pleasure and profit. In this as in other subjects, it is only through the gradual progress made by a succession of enquirers, each working upon the researches of those that have gone before, that any hope can be entertained of ultimately arriving at the truth. It is the more incumbent upon me to make this general acknowledgment of the services of those who have preceded me, since in the course of my argument I have unavoidably dwelt the most upon those points in which it has been necessary to combat their views. In respect of my more private obligations, I must not omit to return my thanks to my friend the Rev. W. J. Beamont, Fellow of Trinity College, and Principal of the English College at Jerusalem, for the information with which he has furnished me respecting several spots in and around the city.

For the views advanced in the course of the volume I alone am responsible. As I have in every case stated the reasons for the conclusions at which I have arrived, so I have myself ever endeavoured fairly to weigh the arguments of others; and whether I have adopted or rejected their theories, I have done

it neither carelessly nor rashly. And should it be deemed an objection to any of the views here advanced, that they are new, or opposed to those commonly received, the importance of the subject will at least claim for them a candid and attentive examination of the evidence by which they are supported.

In writing Arabic words in Roman characters, the object aimed at has been to represent accurately the true Arabic pronunciation. The system of Dr Robinson and Mr Eli Smith has in general been followed; but their *ŭ* has been uniformly replaced by *a*, which like the Arabic Fathah has in rapid pronunciation the dull sound of the *a* in *sofa*, *pendant*, or of the *u* in *sun*. No attempt has been made to distinguish in writing between the ordinary *k*, *s*, &c. and the intensive *k*, *s*, &c. of the Semitic languages.

Of the vowels, *a* has the various sounds of the *a* in *grant*, *pant*, *want*, and *pendant*; *â* those of the *a* in *father*, *water*; *e* may be sounded as in *tell*; *i* as in *chin* *î*; as in *machine*; *o* as in *cold*; *u* as in *full*; *û* as in *rule*; *y* as in *truly*: *ai* as in *aisle*, *ei* as in *veil*; while the sound of the *ou* in *house* would be represented by *au*.

The consonants *b*, *d*, *f*, *h*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, *sh*, *t*, *w*, *y*, *z*, may be pronounced nearly as in English; *th* has the sound of *th* in *think*: the *th* in *this* would be written *dh*; *kh* is a guttural aspirate, stronger than the German *ch*, and resembling the Spanish *j* or Greek *χ*; *gh* has the gargling sound of the Paris *r*; and (') is a modification of the *gh*: it is the sound which would be made in passing rapidly from the sound of the *o* in *world* to that of the vowel before which it stands.

In writing Hebrew words in Roman characters, no accurate orthographical system has been attempted, but the analogy of the Hebrew names in our English Bible has been followed. It must be specially noted that the letter *z* stands, as in our Bible, not only for the ז (*z*) but also for the צ (*ts*) of the Hebrew alphabet.

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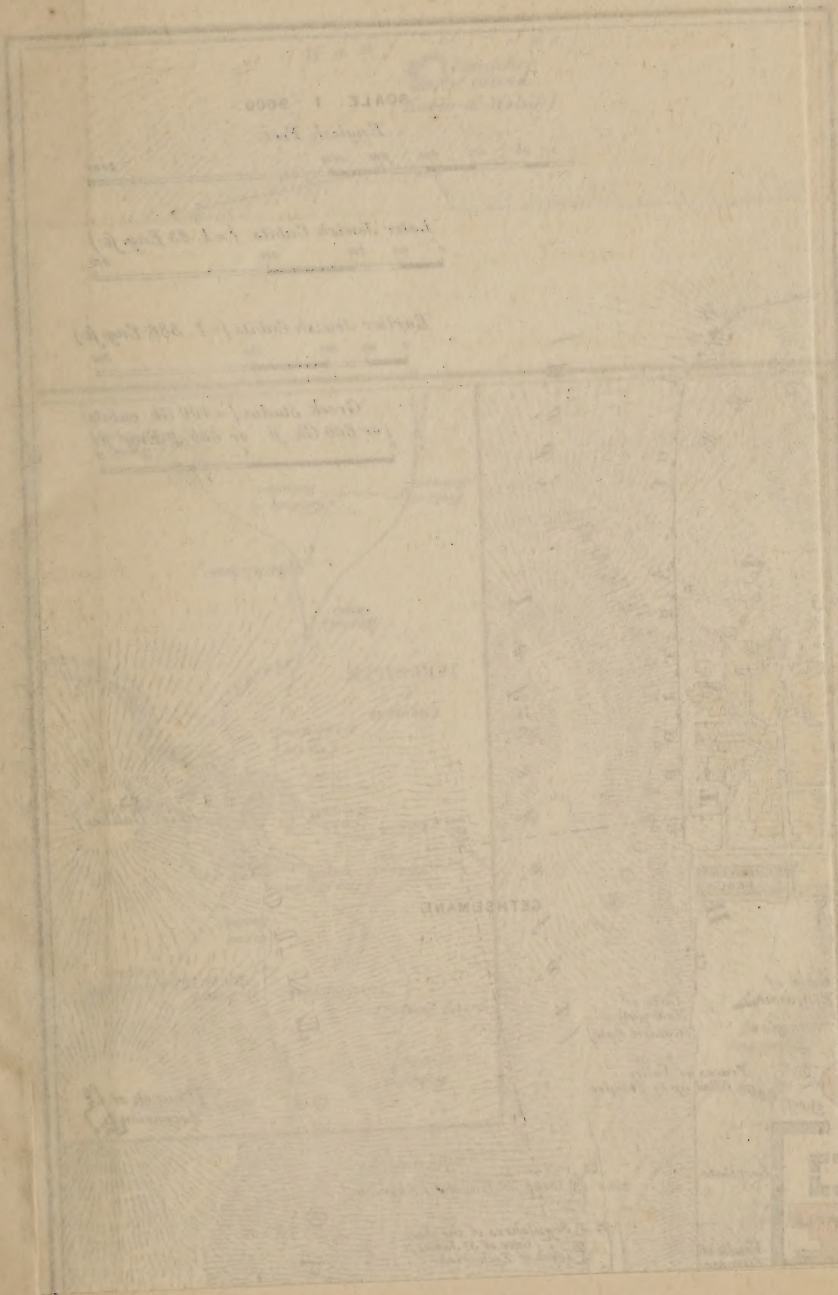
JERUSALEM.



JERUSALEM.

BASED UPON THE ENGLISH ORDNANCE SURVEY AND ON THE MAP OF Dr TOBLER.

ANTIENT JERUSALEM.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE importance of the history of the Jewish nation, whom God chose from among all the nations of the earth to be the guardians of His sacred truth until the fulness of the times of the Messiah was come, and the inestimable value of the inspired records in which that history is preserved, invest Jerusalem with an interest beyond that which attaches to any other antient city. Not only was it the royal metropolis of David and of the succeeding Jewish kings: not only was it within its walls that many of the gospel prophecies of the Hebrew prophets were uttered: but from the time of king Solomon onward it was the chosen city where, within the sacred shrine that had been reared to the honour and glory of His name, God sojourned among men. "In Salem was His tabernacle, and His dwelling-place in Zion." And when the time of the fulfilment of the promises had arrived, and when the sins of Jerusalem had provoked God to leave her house desolate, and to spread through all the world the knowledge of the truth which had been hitherto confined to a single nation, still it was in the city of Jerusalem that the

Saviour of the world was condemned to die, and it was not far from her walls that the one solemn sacrifice was offered, by which Adam's transgression was done away, and man redeemed. It was in Jerusalem that the Holy Ghost was poured out upon the apostles on the great day of Pentecost; and from Jerusalem that they commenced the preaching of the gospel of Christ.

It is not however merely by reason of her connexion with the historical events of the Bible that Jerusalem forces her claims upon our attention. It is not solely because the historical interest of the Bible exceeds that of all other histories, that the memory of Jerusalem awakens in our hearts feelings of such deep and solemn emotion. In pursuance of God's plan of revelation, which is to explain spiritual truths by their analogy with outward and visible things, and thus to make what is earthly the type of that which is of a higher order, the city and temple of Jerusalem were employed by the Hebrew prophets as the suggestive groundwork of the prophecies which they delivered respecting the future glories of the Christian church. The hills, the walls and the sanctuary of Jerusalem formed, as it were, the language in which the history of the Christian church was written: and the capital of the Jewish nation was thus endowed with a world-wide importance and interest.

The extent of the interest which is really felt in the city that men once called The Perfection of Beauty, The Joy of the whole Earth, has been practically evinced by the way in which, from the earliest ages of Christianity to the present day, pilgrims and travellers have thronged from every part of Christendom to this one spot, to survey the hallowed site, to gaze on the buildings that still adorn and the walls that still surround it, and to seek out and explore the existing

remains of antiquity. These last, in spite of the restrictions imposed upon antiquarian research by the jealousy of Moslem domination, have been of late years by the labours of several enterprising travellers and residents diligently investigated and examined. There are however few antient cities whose topography is enveloped in such grievous uncertainties as those which still hang over the position of the different parts and buildings of Jerusalem: and notwithstanding all that has been recently written on the subject, it is hardly too much to say that there is not one point in the whole topography of the Holy City with respect to which scholars are entirely agreed.

These uncertainties may be in great measure explained by the intensity of the interest with which Jerusalem has been regarded, which has from a very early period led men to identify the different parts of the antient city with unconscious heedlessness, or on insufficient grounds. The conclusions thus formed have, after being handed down from generation to generation, obtained general acceptance from having been allowed to pass so long unchallenged: and succeeding writers, even those of the most independent tone of mind and the best qualified to judge for themselves, have not been in all instances able to disencumber themselves of erroneous views, some of them of the highest importance, which have thus unfortunately gained prevalence. The inconvenience of these false views is painfully felt by the student in the very nomenclature current among the Christians of the present day: and it is for this reason that I shall, even at the risk of incurring the charge of pedantry, attempt, in describing the parts of the modern city, to employ as much as possible those names which do not involve any theory of its antient topography.

It is not easy to draw any accurate line of distinction between these traditional theories of sacred topography, and those almost innumerable ecclesiastical traditions indicatory of the localities of sacred interest in the city and neighbourhood of Jerusalem, which have been preserved rather for the avowed purpose of assisting the devotions of the pilgrim than by the unconscious perpetuation of a received nomenclature, or in any spirit of archæological research. Of the general value of these traditions as aids in the prosecution of our investigations it would be unwise to form *a priori* any rash or decisive estimate. Their general authority is best tested by those particular instances in which we have independent means of ascertaining their truth. If we find some of the traditions trustworthy, we shall be justly led to attach more value to the rest. And if, on the other hand, we can shew that many of the current traditions are inconsistent with each other, or with those received in previous ages, or that they palpably contradict the authority of Scripture, then our estimate of the general authority of the traditionary evidence will be necessarily lowered. The specific worth of any particular tradition consists in the degree of probability there is that it may have been handed down in unbroken continuity, and unaltered, from the time when there were undoubted means of knowing or arriving at the truth. The comparative value of the traditions must consequently be partly measured by what is generally, though incorrectly, designated their antiquity: that is to say, the distance of time to which they can be *traced* back. The traditions of which the first notices come before us in the writings of the twelfth century are obviously of very inferior authority to those mentioned in the records of the fourth. Indeed the truth of the later traditions can in a large number, perhaps

in the majority of instances, be hardly seriously defended. There can be little doubt that many of them were originated in the times following the conquest of the city by the crusaders, when the convents of Latin monks were established as the express guardians of the sacred localities. The scenes of the minutest events recorded in the Bible, more especially of those connected with the gospel history, were, if unknown, conventionally fixed: and fresh events, of which the Bible makes no mention, were supplied by the imagination. With each successive age the number of sacred localities was gradually increased. Truth in these matters was not in general the end that the pilgrims had in view: and where the means or the disposition for arriving at the truth were wanting, plausible error or rash conjecture was accepted in its place.

In estimating the value of traditionary evidence, it must be further remembered that the attention of the Christians of all ages has been more especially fastened upon the scenes of exclusively Christian interest; and it can therefore be no matter of surprise if all traditional knowledge respecting most of the spots important in the study of Jewish archæology should prove to have been completely corrupted or lost. The utter demolition of the city by Titus, the prohibition to the Jews from the time of Hadrian to that of Constantine to approach their former capital under pain of death, the transformation of Jerusalem into the Roman colony of Ælia, a name which was even familiarly adopted by the Christian inhabitants of the place, all conspire to render it probable that the accurate topography of the antient city was forgotten at a very early period.

By far the most important writings which bear upon the biblical topography of the city, are those of the historian Josephus. What he describes, he

describes as an eye-witness: and his descriptions are generally trustworthy, although he betrays a continual tendency to exaggerate[1]. Bearing in mind however that he was fully acquainted with what he relates, it is not generally difficult in his works to separate the true from the false. It is at the same time unfortunate that the names by which the different parts and gates of the city were known in his day, do not generally coincide with those employed in the Old Testament. The books of the Maccabees are important for many incidental notices of Jerusalem. Of inferior authority to the writings of Josephus are the traditionary records of the Jews which are preserved to us in the Talmud; but though they must be used with caution, they throw considerable light upon the arrangement and size of the parts of the Jewish temple.

Valuable however as are these sources of information, I do not hesitate to express my belief that sufficient use has not been made of the notice which the Scriptures themselves contain, towards obtaining an accurate knowledge of the topography of the antient city. It is true that these notices are entirely incidental, yet such also, more or less, are the notices in Josephus: and if, instead of merely seeking to make the topography of the Bible square with preconceived notions, and with theories originally formed without reference to it, those scholars who have written on the subject had endeavoured, to a greater extent than they have done, to make the Bible itself its own interpreter, it is probable that they would at least have avoided

[1] As instances of this may be mentioned his estimate of the number killed in the siege of Jerusalem—1,100,000: and of the depth of the foundation of Solomon's temple—300 cubits. Tacitus gives the whole number of the besieged at 600,000: and the height of the site of the temple above the adjacent valley is not more than 200 feet.

some of the more important errors into which they have fallen.

For the complete elucidation of the subject an accurate survey of the nature of the ground occupied by the city, as also of the existing remains and vestiges of the antient buildings, is indispensable. The plan therefore that I shall pursue in the present volume will be, first to describe the position and parts of the modern town: next, having thus obtained a basis of proceeding, to identify the principal parts of the antient city both as mentioned in the Bible and by Josephus: I shall then endeavour to trace the history of the city from the earliest times, shewing how it was gradually fortified, enlarged, rebuilt, altered, and beautified by successive generations: I shall then devote a chapter to the principal objects of interest in its immediate environs: and lastly seek to determine the exact position and arrangement of that building which formed the especial glory of antient Jerusalem—the temple.

THE MODERN CITY.

The city of Jerusalem, called by the Arabs Beit el-Mukaddas, "The Hallowed House, the Sanctuary," or more shortly, el-Kuds, "The Holy," lies near the summit of a broad mountain ridge[1], which extends in a southerly direction throughout the southern part of the Holy Land, from the great plain of Jezreel, to the frontier of the Arabian desert. The northern part of this mountain tract was formerly known under the name of the mountain of Ephraim, or mount Ephraim[2], as it is somewhat inaccurately rendered in our English

[1] See Robinson, Bibl. Res. I. p. 380 *seqq*.

[2] Josh. xvii. 15, &c.

Bible: the southern part formed the hill-country of Judah[1]: in the centre of which, near the city of Hebron, about six hours' journey south of Jerusalem, the ridge attains its greatest height of upwards of 3000 English feet above the level of the sea. The highest point of the city of Jerusalem is between 2300 and 2400 feet above the level of the Mediterranean.

It is not unworthy of remark, that after the division of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, the rival capital of Samaria, built by Omri, occupied one of the mountains of this same ridge: it was thus that Jeremiah, in foretelling the restoration of Israel, described them as planting vines upon the mountains of Samaria[2]: and Ezekiel, in speaking of the reunion of the two kingdoms, prophesied that they should be made one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel[3].

The ground on which the city of Jerusalem stands, is included in a fork between two valleys which meet to the south, or south-east of the city, near the Well of Job (Bîr Eyûb), and run on together under the name Wâdy en-Nâr or Wâdy er-Râhib, first in a southerly, and then in an easterly direction to the Dead Sea. Of these two valleys, the south-western, known at the present day as Wâdy er-Rabâby, begins near the large pool Birket el-Mamilla, west of the city, and runs for about 600 yards towards the Western or Yâfa gate: it then bends southward, and then once more eastward, thus skirting the city on the western and southern sides. The other valley, which has acquired the name Wâdy Yehôshâfât, or the Valley of Jehoshaphat, takes its rise near the Tombs of the Judges, considerably to the north-west of the city: but from a point nearly three quarters of a mile due N. of the Birket el-

[1] Josh. xv. 48; xx. 7; xxi. 11. Luke i. 39.

[2] Jer. xxxi. 5.

[3] Ezek. xxxvii. 22.

Mamilla, it runs in an easterly direction for about a mile, and then turning southward skirts the whole of the eastern side of the city till it finally joins the Wâdy er-Rabâby near the Well of Job.

It is probable that for the few years that elapsed between the enlargement of the city by Herod Agrippa A.D. 42, and its destruction by Titus A.D. 71, nearly the whole of the ground intercepted between these valleys was included within the walls: but the present north wall runs very considerably to the south of the northern part of the Wâdy Yehôshâfât: and we shall have reason to see that in the Bible times, the city was still less extensive in the north. The modern city may be said to approximate to the form of a parallelogram, whose eastern and western sides run north and south, but whose north-eastern and south-eastern corners stand more northerly than the north-western and south-western corners respectively. A very marked valley, which deepens as it runs southward, traverses the city from north to south, commencing outside the north or Damascus gate, crossing the south wall of the city near the Bâb el-Mugharibeh or Moors' gate (now closed), and running into the Wâdy Yehôshâfât just above its junction with the Wâdy er-Rabâby.

The main part of the city in antient times must always have stood upon the hill that now forms its south-western quarter, and which is bounded on the west and south by the Wâdy er-Rabâby, on the east by the traversing valley, and on the north by a street leading eastward from the Yâfa gate, known by the crusaders as the Street of David, and afterwards called Khat 'Arset el-Ghalâl[1], (Line of the Space of Produce), and its continuations. This hill is universally known among the Christians as Mount Zion: its summit is

[1] Mejîr ed-Dîn, in Appendix to Williams' Memoir, p. 158.

now occupied by the Armenian convent, its north brow might be not improperly termed the English quarter, its eastern part and brow form the Jews' quarter, while its southern part, with all its south brow, lies at present without the city-wall. There can however be little doubt that they were included in the antient city.

At the foot of this hill, and stretching northward from the Khat 'Arset el-Ghalâl, and bounded on the east by a long line of street leading up to the Damascus gate, is the Christian quarter, in the middle of which stands the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The greater part of this quarter is now level: the ground rises however near the north wall, and especially towards the north-west corner above the Latin Convent, which is thus said to be the highest part of the whole city.

To the east of the traversing valley, the south-eastern part of the city is occupied by the area of the great mosk Kubbet es-Sakhrah or the Dome of the Rock. The area itself, which is upwards of 1500 feet from N. to S. and averages nearly 1000 feet from E. to W. is called el-Haram esh-Sherîf, "The Noble Sanctuary." It is universally agreed that somewhere within this area stood the antient Jewish temple. The southern part of the hill occupied by the area slopes down outside the south wall, and is thus excluded from the city, although we shall find that, like the southern part of the former hill, it was in antient times included within it.

Between the Haram esh-Sherîf and the north city-wall, rises a high hill, which together with the valley in the middle of the city, and even some ground to the west of the valley, form the Muhammedan quarter. That part of the Muhammedan quarter which occupies the southern portion of the valley, may be specially distinguished from the rest as the Moors' quarter.

Besides this, there is to the north of the Haram esh-Sherîf, and intercepted between the high hill last mentioned and the northern part of the east city-wall, a narrow ridge, connected with the high ground north of the city, which is occupied by what is known as the Haret Bâb el-Hitta or quarter of the Gate of Pardon; so called from the name of the gate of the Haram which opens on to it. Politically, the Haret Bâb el-Hitta forms a mere part of the Muhammedan quarter: but for topographical purposes it may be conveniently distinguished from it.

Of all these, the first, the hill on which stand the Armenian and Jewish quarters, and the third, the Haram esh-Sherîf, are in an antiquarian point of view the most important: as it will be seen that they, together with those portions of their respective ridges which are now excluded by the south wall, including also the Moors' quarter which lies in the valley between them, formed the site of the city in the times of the Old Testament: and Josephus tells us[1] that the old city-wall, which was principally built in the days of David and Solomon, was, on account of the valleys by which it was surrounded, and the crest of the hill on which it was built, almost impregnable.

It would be a mere waste of words to attempt to prove that the modern city does for the most part occupy the same site as the old: not only do the remains found in all parts of the city testify to this, but it has never been doubted, except by one traveller[2], whose rash conjecture as to the true position of Zion has drawn upon him the censure of nearly every succeeding writer on the subject. "The hills stand about Jerusalem" were the words of the Psalmist, when he

[1] Bell. Jud. v. 4. 2.

[2] Dr E. D. Clarke, who wrote in 1810, took the hill south of the Wâdy er-Rababy for Mount Zion.

compared with this the way in which the Lord stood round about his people[1]: and no words could more accurately describe the site of the modern city, enclosed by its two valleys, outside which the surrounding hills rise up on every side. We may therefore proceed at once to a more detailed examination of the space formerly included within the walls: and it will be advisable in the first instance to identify the more important of those parts of the city which are mentioned in the Old Testament.

ZION—THE CITY OF DAVID.

Agreed as most modern scholars are as to the principal part of the site occupied by the antient city, they have nearly all fallen into a fundamental error with respect to the position of the antient Zion[2], which will sufficiently account for the comparative failure of the attempts to develop the Old Testament topography. The source of this error is to be found in the fact that the Jews after their return from the captivity used the name Zion of a different part of the city to what they had previously done. Strange as it may at first sight appear that so important an error should have originated with the Jews themselves, it admits of the clearest demonstration that such is the case. In the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, Zion is expressly identified with the City of David: in the first book of Maccabees it is as clearly distinguished from it.

In 2 Sam. v. 7, we read: "David took the stronghold of Zion: the same is the city of David." In

[1] Psalm cxxv. 2.

[2] The current view is not adopted by Mr Fergusson, who, following the Rabbies and Lightfoot, places Zion north of the temple.

1 Kings viii. 1: "That they might bring up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the city of David, which is Zion." In 1 Chron. xi. 5: "David took the castle of Zion, which is the city of David." No more decisive testimony can be desired than this: and it is satisfactory that we are able to find it in all the three sets of historical books, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. And even should it be alleged that these identifications of Zion with the city of David were notes inserted in the text by Ezra, or some other person, at a time later than that at which the books were written, there can be no doubt that whosoever so inserted them had full knowledge of their correctness.

On the other hand, when we turn to the first book of Maccabees (which is allowed to be of Jewish origin, and is supposed to have been originally written in Hebrew or Syriac, and whose author, though not well acquainted with Greek or Roman history, must undoubtedly have had a full knowledge of the events he was relating) we find, that during the whole of the Jewish war of independence, there were two opposite forts or strongholds in Jerusalem, one of which stood upon what was then called Mount Zion, and the other in the City of David: thus shewing that Mount Zion and the City of David were distinct. The latter fortress was erected by the Greek Syrians in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and remained in their possession till the end of the war: it was fruitlessly besieged by Judas Maccabeus after his victories over Gorgias and Lysias and his purification of the temple: it is mentioned as being in possession of the Syrians at the time of the invasion of Nicanor: it was again besieged by Jonathan Maccabeus in the time of Demetrius, and was finally taken by Simon, after the independence of

the Jews had been recognized[1]. On the other hand, what the historian of the Maccabees calls Mount Zion was fortified by Judas after his victories, but was soon afterwards attacked and taken by the Syrians, and its fortifications destroyed; and it was thus that Nicanor was able to march up on to it: it was however again fortified by Jonathan Maccabeus, and from that time forward remained in the power of the Jews[2].

It appears therefore to be beyond a doubt, that in the time of the monarchy, Zion and the City of David were identical, but that in the time of the Maccabees they were not; indeed, so far from it, that they were situate in different parts of the entire city: and therefore we are necessarily led to the conclusion, that in the interval, either the name Zion, or that of the City of David, must have shifted from one part of the city to the other.

That the latter of these alternatives should have been the case seems very improbable. One after another were the pious kings of Judah buried in the sepulchres of their fathers in the City of David, as we are told in the books both of Kings and of Chronicles: their sepulchres are mentioned by Nehemiah, and remained to the days of the apostles[3], a standing memorial of the part of Jerusalem which David had called by his own name. Nor can it be said that the name City of David went out of use between the days of the monarchy and those of the Maccabees, as we shall see was the case with the name Zion: for the City of David is mentioned by Nehemiah, as a well-known and definite part of the whole city[4]. When we come to examine its position

[1] 1 Macc. i. 33; xiv. 36; vi. 20; vii. 32; xi. 20, 23; xiii. 49, 50.

[2] 1 Macc. iv. 60; vi. 48, 62; vii. 33; x. 11.

[3] Neh. iii. 16. Acts ii. 29.

[4] Neh. iii. 15; xii. 37. Some loose expressions of Josephus, Ant. VII. 3. 2, have been adduced in

and extent, it will be seen that there never was any material change in the application of the name, but that all the notices we have of it refer to one and the same place. It therefore only remains for us to conclude that it was the name Zion that shifted, and consequently that we must distinguish between the earlier and later Zion—between the Zion of the canonical books of the Old Testament, and the Zion of the Maccabees.

By the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem, and by all Christian pilgrims and travellers from the days of Constantine, the name Zion has been almost invariably applied to the whole or to some part of the south-western hill of the city: and therefore so far as we may suppose this application of the name to have been handed down by tradition from the preceding ages, it is only reasonable to presume that the modern Zion is identical with the Zion of the later Jewish days, and therefore not the Zion of David and of the prophets. It may indeed, for reasons that have been already stated, be questioned how far we are justified in reposing confidence in the Christian traditions respecting Jewish localities: but many, perhaps most persons, will be inclined to attach very considerable value to traditions that date from so early a period: and it is satisfactory to think that they will thus, in this instance at least, be inevitably led to the right conclusion, namely, that the modern Zion is identical with the Zion of the Maccabees, and consequently is not the true Zion. Certainly, the hypothesis of a continuous tradition from

favour of the view that by the City of David is meant the whole of Jerusalem. But the loose account of Josephus must be interpreted by the more definite one in 2 Sam. v. 9; 1 Chron. xi. 7, from which it is derived: had the City of David meant the whole of Jerusalem, the expression would have been confined to poetry, and never could have been used in such purely historical passages as 2 Chron. xxxii. 30; xxxiii. 14.

the later Jewish times to those of Constantine, will in this case serve to explain how all the Christian natives, monks, pilgrims, and travellers, from his day to this, should have been led to adopt a view respecting the position of Zion, so completely opposed, as will presently be shewn, to the indications of Scripture.

Meanwhile let it be remarked, that the present Zion exactly corresponds to the accounts we have of the hill of this name in the first book of Maccabees. The language of this book would seem to imply that the Mount Zion of which it speaks was not merely a tower or stronghold for a garrison, such as the Syrians occupied in the City of David, but that it consisted of the main part of the inhabited city, strongly fortified with high walls and towers[1]: and we have already had occasion to observe that the main part of the city must always have stood upon the south-western hill, which moreover, although of considerable extent, is yet, by reason of its being surrounded on every side, either by actual valleys, or by low ground, difficult of attack. It appears also that there was an access to it from the temple: for when, during the time that it remained unfortified, Nicanor marched up on to it, we read that "there came out of the sanctuary certain of the priests and certain of the elders of the people to salute him[2]:" and how entirely these indications suit the position of the modern Zion, is shewn by the fact, that not only, as we shall afterwards see, was there an embankment or causeway connecting the modern Zion with the City of David and the north-west corner of the temple, by which Nicanor probably marched on to the hill, but also a series of steps conducting to it from the south-west corner of the temple, by which the priests

[1] 1 Macc. iv. 60; x. 11. [2] 1 Macc. vii. 33.

and elders probably walked forth from the sanctuary in procession.

If we now endeavour to fix the position of the earlier or true Zion, which the historical books of the Old Testament expressly identify with the City of David, we shall find that this was none other than the temple-hill, now occupied by the Haram esh-Sherîf: that the old Jebusite stronghold or castle of Zion[1] stood on the northern part of this hill, and formed the original nucleus of the City of David: and that after the building of the temple, which occupied, as will be hereafter proved, the southern part of the present Haram, the terms Zion and City of David were sometimes used in a larger sense, so as to include the temple, sometimes in a more confined sense, to denote only the original city or buildings to the north of the temple. It is in this latter signification that they are employed, when we are told that Solomon assembled the elders and princes of Israel, "that they might bring up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the City of David, which is Zion[2]," into the newly created sanctuary.

The following is the evidence on which this conclusion rests.

First, the City of David was situate in the eastern part of Jerusalem. In 2 Chron. xxxii. 30, we read, "This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the City of David[3]." In 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, we are told of Manasseh, that "he built a wall

[1] 2 Sam. v. 7. 1 Chron. xi. 5.

[2] 1 Kings viii. 1. 2 Chron. v. 2.

[3] Another translation of this verse has been proposed: but the watercourse must have certainly run along the west of the City of David, and not along the east, else Manasseh's wall, which was to the west of the watercourse, would have been within the City of David and not without it.

without the City of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley." Putting together these two passages, it seems clear that the City of David was bounded on the west by a valley, along which Hezekiah brought his watercourse down, and that Manasseh's wall was also in the valley to the west of the watercourse: and had the City of David stood in the west part of Jerusalem, and the valley of Gihon been the upper part of the Wâdy er-Rabâby, as modern tradition has supposed, then Manasseh's wall must have stood also in this valley, —a useless and most improbable position, as it would have been without means of defence, and have been completely commanded by the hills that surround Jerusalem on that side. Whereas if we identify the valley of Gihon with the upper part of the valley that traverses Jerusalem, and the City of David with the northern part of the temple-hill, it will be easily seen from an inspection of the plan of Jerusalem, that these objections do not apply to anything like the same extent.

Again, in the twelfth chapter of Nehemiah, we have an account of a thanksgiving procession to the temple, and it appears that two companies of men, starting from some point in the western part of the city, proceeded, the one by the north wall, the other by the south wall to the temple in the east of the city: of the latter company we are told that "at the fountain gate which was over against them, they went up by the stairs of the City of David[1]:" clearly therefore they ascended or entered into the City of David, which is thus identified with the temple-hill.

Again, in Psalm xlviii. 2, we read, "Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the great King:" or

[1] Neh. xii. 37.

as it runs in our Prayer-book version, "upon the north side lieth the city of the great King." The only intelligible sense that can well be given to these words, is, that the city of the great King, which may be taken as identical with the City of David, stood on the northern part of Mount Zion, the temple-hill: they would be quite inexplicable were we to suppose them to mean that the city of the great King lay on the north of the western part of the city. Maurer, who himself refutes some still worse interpretations, understands the verse as implying that Mount Zion, i.e. the southern part of the city, and the sides of the north, together made up the city of the great King, i.e. the whole of Jerusalem: but it will be allowed that this is at best but a makeshift, invented to suit a preconceived theory: and even were we to adopt it, and suppose the modern Zion to be here intended, not only is there no ground for the assumption that any part of the city did lie north of this in the Psalmist's days, but more, the temple itself would be entirely excluded.

Again, in Isaiah xiv. 13, Babylon is represented as having said in her heart, "I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God, I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north." The threat of Babylon here seems to be, not only to possess herself of the temple-mount generally, but also of the stronghold of Zion, or of the City of David, which occupied the highest part of the hill, to the north of the temple, and so commanded the temple. Should this interpretation appear unsatisfactory, those who reject it may be fairly challenged to find a better.

Again, that the fortress which Antiochus Epiphanes erected in the City of David stood to the north of the temple, can hardly admit of question. Josephus,

who is a competent authority on this point, tells us that it overlooked, or rather, *overlay* the temple[1]; and thus that those who occupied it, were able to annoy the people in the temple. The account in the first Book of Maccabees is, that those who were in the tower "shut up the Israelites round about the sanctuary, and sought always their hurt:" and a verse in a subsequent chapter speaks of "the hill of the temple that was by the tower[2]." Moreover we are informed that at a time when the Jews were in possession of the Maccabean or modern Zion, Antiochus Eupator besieged the sanctuary, and attacked it with catapults and other engines[3]: which he could not well have done, except from the north side of the temple. It was in this part then that the tower occupied by the Syrians in the City of David must have stood, on the same hill with the temple itself.

These arguments seem conclusively to prove that the antient hill of Zion or the City of David is not to be identified with the Zion of modern days, but with the eastern or temple-hill: nor does the almost unanimous reception of the current tradition by modern travellers afford any just ground for suspecting the truth of this conclusion; since none of them, so far as I have been able to find, have ever produced the slightest evidence of any kind in support of the view that they have adopted. General consent among themselves seems to have been accepted as sufficient proof that they were right; although, fortunately, in this case, the very tradition which has misled them may be said to furnish positive evidence that they are in error. Only

[1] *ὑπερκειμένη τὸ ἱερον.* Ant. XII. 5. 4. *ἐπέκειτο τῷ ἱέρῳ ἡ ἄκρα.* XII. 9. 3.

[2] 1 Macc. vi. 18; xiii. 52.

[3] *ἔστησεν ἐκεῖ βελοστάσεις καὶ μηχανὰς καὶ πυρόβολα καὶ λιθόβολα καὶ σκορπίδια εἰς τὸ βάλλεσθαι βέλη καὶ σφενδόνας.* 1 Macc. vi. 51.

the weakest part of the case has however as yet been stated. There is a far stronger argument than any that has yet been brought forward, for the identity of Zion with the temple-hill: and this is the uniform way, in which throughout the Psalms and Prophetical writings, from first to last, Zion is spoken of as the Holy Hill, the Mountain of the house of the Lord, the dwelling-place of the Holy One of Israel. Indeed so clear and explicit is the testimony of Scripture on this point, that it can hardly be without some feelings of surprise, that any one who has endeavoured to picture to himself the sacred localities of Jewish history from a study of the Bible alone, finds himself assured by modern travellers not only that the temple did not stand on Mount Zion, but that Zion, in its strict sense, was the especial name of the other, and therefore less hallowed part of Jerusalem.

In the first place then, Zion is well known as the holy mountain. "Yet have I set My king upon My holy hill of Zion[1]:" "Blow ye the trumpet in Zion, and sound an alarm in My holy mountain[2]:" "So shall ye know that I am the Lord your God dwelling in Zion My holy mountain[3]:" "Upon Mount Zion shall be deliverance, and there shall be holiness[4]."

Still more distinct perhaps are those passages which speak of Zion as the dwelling-place of the Lord: passages far too numerous to quote at length[5]: so that the Lord is specially called the "Lord of Hosts which dwelleth in Mount Zion[6]:" His fire is in Zion, and His furnace in Jerusalem[7]: He promises to return to Zion[8]:

1 Psalm ii. 6.
2 Joel ii. 1.
3 Joel iii. 17.
4 Obad. 17.
5 See, besides those cited, Psalm ix. 11; lxviii. 16; lxxiv. 2; lxxvi. 2; cxxxii. 14. Joel iii. 17, 21.
6 Isaiah viii. 18.
7 Isaiah xxxi. 9
8 Zech. viii. 3.

He is to reign over His people in Mount Zion[1]: He is great in Zion[2]: Zion is told that the Holy One is in the midst of her[3]: and she is thus the place of the name of the Lord of Hosts[4], the Zion of the Holy One of Israel[5]: and the songs of Zion are the Lord's songs[6]. The phrase "Holy mountain" is expressly explained to mean the "mountain of the Lord of Hosts[7]," that is, the Zion to which the Lord is returned. In a yet more forcible manner, God is spoken of as chusing Zion[8], the Mount Zion which He loved[9], the Zion whose gates are dearer to Him than all the dwellings of Jacob[10]: or as founding Zion[11], and laying a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation therein[12]. It is not necessary to the present argument to distinguish between the literal and the spiritual Zion, because everything that is said of the latter must have been in some sort borrowed from what was the case with regard to the former.

Zion then being the Lord's dwelling-place, it is not surprising that we should read of His sending His blessing out of Zion[13]: or of His strengthening His Anointed out of Zion[14]: of salvation coming out of Zion[15]: of the law going forth from Zion[16]: or lastly, that in that beautifully poetical picture which the Psalmist puts before us of God coming to judge His people, He should be said to shine out of Zion, the perfection of beauty[17].

1 Micah iv. 7.
2 Psalm xcix. 2.
3 Isaiah xii. 6.
4 Isaiah xviii. 7.
5 Isaiah lx. 14.
6 Psalm cxxxvii. 3, 4.
7 Zech. viii. 3.
8 Psalm cxxxii. 13.
9 Psalm lxxviii. 68.
10 Psalm lxxxvii. 2.
11 Isaiah xiv. 32.
12 Isaiah xxviii. 16.
13 Psalm cxxviii. 5; cxxxiv. 3.
14 Psalm xx. 2; cx. 2.
15 Psalm xiv. 7; liii. 6.
16 Isaiah ii. 3. Micah iv. 2.
17 Psalm l. 2.

It will hardly be questioned that if Zion was thus God's dwelling-place, the reason was, that on this hill the Jewish temple stood. Thus in the prophets Isaiah and Micah, instead of the "mountain of the Lord," we have the less common but more definite expression the "mountain of the Lord's house[1]." It is the temple that is most probably to be understood by the phrase the "tabernacle of the daughter of Zion[2];" although it is not necessary to weaken the force of the present argument by adducing any passage with respect to the interpretation of which any doubt can exist. We have evidence enough and to spare to prove that the temple stood on Mount Zion, without being obliged to vindicate the true meaning of any isolated text. The Jewish priests are called the priests of Zion[3]: and when, on the solemn fast-day, they are ordered to weep between the porch and the altar of the temple, it is in Zion that the trumpet is to be blown[4]. It is to Zion, the city of the Jewish solemnities[5], that all the Israelites come up[6] to keep the solemn feasts[7]: and in Zion, in the courts of the Lord's house on Mount Zion, that they love to shew forth His praises[8].

The only explanation that those who identify the antient with the modern Zion have been able to give of these passages, is either to assert that Zion is poetically put for the whole of Jerusalem; or else, to suppose that the temple-mount was reckoned as part of the other hill[9]. This latter explanation, considering that in the days of the monarchy Jerusalem only

[1] Isaiah ii. 2. Micah iv. 1.
[2] Lam. ii. 4.
[3] Lam. i. 4.
[4] Joel ii. 15, 17.
[5] Isaiah xxxiii. 20.
[6] Psalm lxxxiv. 7 Jer. l. 5. Lam. i. 4.
[7] Lam. ii. 6.
[8] Psalm ix. 14; lxv. 1; cxxxv. 21. Jer. l. 28; li. 10. Cf. Psalm cxvi. 19.
[9] Relandi Palæstina, II. p. 854.

occupied two hills, comes to nearly the same with the former. But as the valley which separated the temple-mount from the higher hill on which the main part of the city stood to the west, was, at every period of the history of the city, the deepest and most important in Jerusalem, it follows, that unless we distinguish between the hills which it separated, we must give up all distinction of the parts of Jerusalem altogether. It is universally[1] allowed that Zion, in its strict sense at least, denoted a definite part, and not the whole of the city; and therefore the only question to determine is on which side of the valley Zion lay.

Assuming that a distinction between the parts of the city is to be drawn, it may no doubt be fairly conceded that one part of the city may be poetically put to represent the whole: and I would not be disposed to object to any one who should say that in many passages where the prophets speak of Zion, they do in a general sense intend the city of Jerusalem. But it must be remarked, that in all such passages, (except only where the names Zion and Jerusalem are used in the same verse for the sake of parallelism), the prophets wish to mark Jerusalem especially as the holy city, as God's dwelling-place, as the city of His holiness: and it is obviously contrary to all propriety of language that as such, the city should be designated by that one of her two parts which was the less hallowed. It cannot be denied, that the idea of holiness is inseparably connected with the name Zion: and if Zion was the temple-hill, it is easily seen why Jerusalem, as the holy city, should be called by this name; but had Zion been, as recent writers would have us believe, exactly the part of the city in which the temple did not stand,

[1] Except by Professor Justus Olshausen, Zur Topographie des alten Jerusalem, p. 40.

then the use of the name Zion, to convey the idea of holiness, becomes absolutely inexplicable.

Besides which, it will be generally allowed that the original city of Jerusalem stood on the western hill: and it is in the nature of things that any new part which was added on to the city afterwards, would be distinguished by a special name: and if the temple-mount was not called Zion, what then was it called? Some persons will perhaps answer, Moriah. I shall have occasion hereafter to shew that Moriah was the name of a tract of country, and not of a single hill: meanwhile it is sufficient for our present purpose to observe, that the name Moriah never once occurs either in the strictly historical books of Samuel and Kings, or throughout the whole of the Psalms and Prophets.

Indeed so decisively do the passages already adduced prove that Zion was the temple-hill, that were it not for the widely-spread opinion that Zion stood in the west, not in the east of Jerusalem, it would be quite superfluous to argue the point any further. However, bearing in mind the popular prejudice in favour of any view that has been long and universally accepted, the argument on a point of such fundamental importance can perhaps be hardly rendered too complete: and therefore before dismissing the subject, it will be well to draw attention to a few remaining passages of Scripture that will add to the confirmation of the truth of what has been already advanced.

In Isaiah x. 12, we read: "When the Lord hath performed His whole work upon Mount Zion and on Jerusalem." In Isaiah xxiv. 23: "When the Lord of hosts shall reign in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem." In Joel ii. 32: "In Mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be deliverance." In all these passages there is a distinction between Mount Zion and Jerusalem which

cannot be explained by the laws of Hebrew parallelism; the names in each instance occurring in the same clause. The true explanation is that Mount Zion is here the temple-mount, while Jerusalem denotes either the western hill, the original Jerusalem, the hill on which the greater part of the city stood, or more probably the city generally. In either case, there is an intelligible meaning to be derived from the words, namely that God will grant deliverance, or will fix His throne, in the place where His temple stands, and that this deliverance, or the seat of God's kingdom, will extend in a general sense to the whole city. But unless Mount Zion be the mount of God's temple, the words "and Jerusalem," are left destitute of any force or meaning.

In Psalm cxxxii. 13, 14, we read: "The Lord hath chosen Zion; He hath desired it for His habitation. This is My rest for ever: here will I dwell; for I have desired it." It is doubtful whether this Psalm was written at the time of the removal of the ark by David on to Mount Zion, and only repeated (in whole or in part) by Solomon at the dedication of the temple[1], or whether it was not written at all till the time of Solomon. In the former case, it seems hardly probable that David would have used these expressions with regard to Mount Zion, prophesying in the spirit that God had chosen Zion as His rest for ever, if the temple were to be built upon another hill, and the ark removed thither: in either case, it seems equally improbable that Solomon would use such expressions, had he just been employed in removing it from what was strictly the hill of Zion. Whereas, if by Zion be understood the temple-mount, all becomes simple and easy: for the ark, although removed by Solomon from the city

[1] See 2 Chron. vi. 41, 42.

or stronghold of Zion, would still continue on the same hill.

The last passage that I shall bring forward is one of considerable difficulty; but notwithstanding its difficulty, it so well illustrates the true position of Mount Zion, that although it be only an illustration, and not a proof, of the view that has been indicated in the preceding pages, it well deserves an attentive examination. It consists of the 15th and 16th verses of Psalm lxviii, a psalm which is generally allowed to have been composed by David either for the occasion of the removal of the ark on to Mount Zion, or in commemoration of it. These verses run thus in our translation: "The hill of God *is as* the hill of Bashan, an high hill *as* the hill of Bashan. Why leap ye, ye high hills? *This is* the hill *which* God desireth to dwell in; yea the Lord will dwell *in it* for ever." I have italicized those words which are not to be found in the Hebrew, and it will be easily seen that there is no warrant for the introduction of the word *as* in the former of the two verses. The meaning of the Psalmist evidently is, that Mount Zion is not to be despised because it is not so lofty as some other hills: and as therefore the former of the two verses certainly must not be so interpreted as to call Mount Zion a high hill, we may best understand by the "hill of God" Mount Sinai[1], and may, with Maurer, translate as follows: "Thou hill of God, Mount Sinai! and thou, thou hill of Bashan! thou hill of lofty peaks, thou Sinai! and thou, thou hill of Bashan! Why leap ye so, ye lofty-peaked hills, and boast yourselves in your height? It is the hill of Zion which God hath chosen for His habitation: it is here that the Lord will abide for ever." Thus rendered, the Psalmist's language

[1] Both Mount Sinai and the hill of Bashan are mentioned in other parts of the Psalm.

no longer presents the same difficulty as before; and every one will see how beautifully natural and how much more forcible is the sentiment, if we understand by Zion not the higher or western hill of Jerusalem, but the temple-mount which was overlooked directly from every side. Yet there are probably not a few who, misled perhaps by such expressions as "the mountain of the height of Israel," have conceived Zion to have been the highest hill of Jerusalem, and therefore have the more readily acquiesced in the common tradition respecting it. Let it be also remarked, that in the verses just quoted, as in those of Psalm cxxxii, David declares that God will continue to dwell in Mount Zion, even at the very time that he is thinking of the temple which he himself proposed to erect, and of which his son was permitted to carry out the design: a proof as before, that it was on Mount Zion that the temple must have stood: on a hill low in itself indeed, but whose spiritual counterpart was in the latter days to be established in the top of the mountains, and exalted above the hills; in those gospel times, when not only the seed of Abraham, but all the true believers of every nation should flow unto it[1].

It may be reasonably asked, how can we account for the fact that the Jews should have forgotten which was the hill of Zion, and should, as we have seen that in later times they did, have erroneously applied the name to the higher or western hill? It must be borne in mind that questions of this kind, from the very nature of the case, seldom admit of a certain answer: we cannot say for certain how the thing did happen; all that can be expected is, that we should advance a probable conjecture as to how the thing may have happened: and this, in the present case, it is not difficult

[1] Isaiah ii. 2. Micah iv. 1.

to do. The only canonical book of the Old Testament in which the word Zion occurs, subsequently to the times of the Babylonish captivity, is the book of Zechariah, who employs the name in the same sense as the older prophets. But it is perhaps not unreasonable to suppose that he borrows the name rather from the usage of the older prophets, than from the popular nomenclature of his own day: and the entire absence of the name in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, and Malachi, favours the hypothesis that the name was not in use at all for the first hundred years following the return from the captivity. But after that the city walls had through the patriotic zeal of Nehemiah once more been built, or at some period intervening between this and the age of the Maccabees, at some period when the stronghold of Zion, and the chief part of the City of David (which with the exception of the actual temple, was, as we shall see, not included within Nehemiah's walls) were still lying waste and desolate; then, it may be that the Jews, too anxious to believe that their Zion had already been completely restored to them, would seek to find it within the now narrowed limits of the inhabited city, and would thus call the hill of their existing city by this name. All things considered—the number of the prophecies relating to the restoration of Zion which the Jews had constantly before them—and the self-deceit of human nature, which wishing those prophecies fulfilled, is too apt to believe what it wishes to be true—this can hardly be regarded as other than a reasonable hypothesis[1].

Again it may be asked, had not the Jews the same

[1] In the same way it will be seen that some Christian writers, misapprehending the prophecy "Zion shall be plowed as a field," have in consequence applied the name Zion solely to that part of the hill which is excluded by the modern wall.

opportunity of determining the true position of Zion from the Scriptures as we have? If the Scriptures prove to us that Zion was the temple-mount, would they not have proved the same to them? Must they not have had a suspicion that their new Zion, the hill that they called by that name, was not the Zion of the prophets? The question need not perplex us: perhaps they had such a suspicion: and though the historian of the Maccabees calls the western hill of the city Mount Zion, yet the name may nevertheless not have been in common use. This would explain how it is that the word Zion never occurs throughout the writings of Josephus; a circumstance that cannot be purely the result of accident. And it is indeed remarkable, and at the same time in the highest degree satisfactory, that while the first book of Maccabees sufficiently establishes what was the tradition of the later Jews with respect to Zion, this tradition, and the error it involves, should lack the sanction not only of Josephus, but what is more important, of all the writers of the New Testament. We know that the error existed; we know that it has been perpetuated, and that it exists among the inhabitants of Jerusalem still: but with the authority of the Old Testament against it, and with the hardly less significant silence of the New Testament and of Josephus, we need not be deceived into mistaking it for truth.

TOPOGRAPHY OF JOSEPHUS.

Having thus established the fundamental point in the Biblical topography of the Holy City, I now pass on to the description of the city given us by the historian of the Jewish war. Should any be disposed to deem a discussion of the topography of Josephus out of place in a volume expressly designed to illustrate the

Bible, it may be only needful to remind them, that much of our future argument respecting the walls and buildings of the antient city must necessarily rest on the authority of Josephus, and that it would be impossible to reason with any certainty from the notices of the city found in his writings, without first determining to which parts of Jerusalem the different names he uses were applied.

It is a curious and instructive fact, that while all recent writers have unduly neglected or depreciated the notices of Jerusalem in the Bible, and have professed to construct a plan of the antient city principally, if not entirely, from the description of Josephus, they have widely differed in their disposition of the parts of the city mentioned by that historian. It is clear that not more than one of the theories hitherto broached can be correct: and as the interpreters of Josephus have been unable to convince each other of the soundness of their respective views, the suspicion naturally arises that all may be equally in error. And by impartial investigators it has been substantially allowed, that the utmost that any writer of the last quarter of a century could claim for his own view, would be, that it presents fewer difficulties—or in other words is less unsatisfactory—than the rest. All who have treated on the subject have in fact been led astray by the same unfortunate misapprehension of a single sentence of Josephus, and have been thus prevented from adopting the one obvious and thoroughly satisfactory solution of the historian's description.

This description is found in the fifth book of the Jewish war: and is as follows[1].

"The city, which was fortified with three walls,—except where encompassed by impassable valleys, for

[1] Josephus, B. J. v. 4. 1.

here there was but one enclosure,—was built, the one division fronting the other, on two hills, separated by an intervening valley, at the brink of which the houses ceased to adjoin each other. Of these hills, that on which the upper city stood, was by far the higher and was straighter in its length. Accordingly, on account of its strength, it was styled the Citadel by King David, the father of Solomon, who first built the temple: but in our time it was called the Upper Market. The other hill, which was called Akra, and which sustained the lower city, was gibbous in shape. Over against this was a third hill, naturally lower than Akra, and separated from it formerly by another broad valley: afterwards however, the Asmonæans during the times of their government filled up the valley, with the view of uniting the city to the temple; and they levelled the summit of Akra, and reduced its elevation, in order that the temple might be seen above it in this direction. The valley known as that of the Cheesemakers, the same that we mentioned as dividing the hills of the upper and lower city, reaches as far as Siloah: for such was the name we gave to the fountain, a fountain whose waters were at once sweet and abundant. On the outside, the two hills on which the city stood were surrounded by deep valleys; and by reason of the precipices on either side, there was no approach to them from any quarter."

Josephus then describes the three walls, and speaking of the third wall proceeds as follows[1]: "It was Agrippa who threw this wall round the parts that had been added to the city, which had been quite unprotected: for the city, overflowing with inhabitants, gradually crept beyond its walls, and the people, incorporating with the city the parts north of the temple, in

[1] Josephus, B. J. v. 4. 2.

addition to the hill, advanced to a considerable distance: so that a fourth hill, which is called Bezetha, was surrounded with habitations. It lies over against Antonia, and is cut off from it by a deep fosse, purposely excavated, to sever the foundations of Antonia from the hill, and so to render them less easy of access, and to add to their elevation. Thus the depth of the trench materially increased the height of the towers. The newly-built quarter was called, in our native tongue, Bezetha, which, translated into Greek, would signify καινὴ πόλις, or New-town."

Such is the description of Josephus: and it seems certain from his language, that the first two quarters, the Upper Market, and Akra, both formed part of the Old City, but that the fourth quarter, Bezetha, was enclosed for the first time by Agrippa. With regard to the third quarter, Josephus is not so explicit: and we shall see that the question whether it lay within or without the city before the days of Agrippa must depend upon the length we assign to Josephus' second wall.

Of the four quarters of Josephus, however, the first two are by far the most important: and they are easily identified. The account of them is, that they were two hills, facing each other, separated by a valley of such depth that it admitted of houses, but not of streets. That antient Jerusalem stood on two hills was a well-known feature of the city: it is mentioned as such by Tacitus[1]. Now the valley, the especial valley of Jerusalem, is unquestionably that which traverses the modern city from north to south: and taking the lower, and deeper, and more important part of this valley for the valley of the Cheesemakers, we at once recognize in the

[1] Tac. Hist. v. 11: Nam duos colles, immensum editos, claudebant muri, per artem obliqui, aut introrsus sinuati.

two hills of Josephus and Tacitus, the same two hills that we have been already so long discussing, namely, the high south-western hill, and the temple-mount or Zion, the former comprising the Armenian and Jewish quarters, the latter answering to the Haram esh-Sherîf of the modern city. It may be possible within the limits of the city to find other small valleys or depressions, separating between eminences, but no two hills are there, which facing each other, form so marked a feature in Jerusalem, as these[1].

Of these two hills, the one to the west of the valley is at once identified, by its superior height, with the Upper Market of Josephus[2]. It formed, as has been already observed, the main, and the original part of the city of Jerusalem. Although called by Josephus the Upper Market in the description just quoted, it is more commonly mentioned by him as the Upper City: and as it does not seem, in the Bible, at least, to have borne any distinctive name in the days of the monarchy, I shall venture to speak of it as the Upper City throughout this volume. Josephus tells us indeed that David named it the Citadel[3]: but the employment of this name might lead to its being confounded with the

[1] That these are the two obvious hills of the city may be shewn from the description given of Jerusalem by William of Tyre, who lived many years in the place. He adopts, of course, the nomenclature of the day: "Sita est autem in montibus duobus, sicut David commemorat, dicens: *Fundamenta ejus in montibus sanctis:* quorum fastigia infra muri ambitum ex parte plurima continet, modicâ valle distincta, quæ etiam urbem per medium dividit. Horum alter qui ab Occidente est Syon appellatur [the modern Zion] unde plerumque et tota denominatur civitas, ut ibi: *Diligit Dominus portas Syon, super omnia tabernacula Jacob.* Alter vero qui ab Oriente est, mons Moria dicitur [the temple hill], etc." Willermus Tyrensis Arch. VIII. 2, in Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 747.

[2] Other proofs are adduced by Olshausen, Topogr. p. 5: but as the point can hardly be disputed, it is not necessary to repeat them.

[3] φρούριον. The stronghold of Zion on the contrary is called in the LXX. περιοχή, or πόλις Δανίδ.

stronghold, or fort, or castle of Zion; and it will be therefore advisable to adhere to the less ambiguous designation.

The Akra of Josephus, on the other hand, lay to the east of the valley, and is none other than the temple-hill, the Zion of Scripture. The name was originally derived from the Greek-Syrian fortress[1], mentioned under this name both by Josephus and by the historian of the Maccabees; which, as we have already seen, stood to the north of the temple, occupying what was at that time the highest part of the hill, the site of the old stronghold of Zion. After the destruction of this fortress by Simon Maccabeus, the name Akra seems to have been retained, but to have acquired a wider signification, and to have been applied to the whole hill, including not only the temple, but also that part of the ridge to the south of the temple[2] which is excluded by the wall of the modern city. It is not very easy to say whether this lower part of the ridge was usually included in antient times under the name Zion, as it is but little mentioned in the Bible, being then less built upon, and altogether of less importance: but in later times it was evidently thickly peopled, and at the time of the siege it must be reckoned to have constituted the most important part of the Lower City[3].

[1] See Relandi Palæst. II. p. 852. Josephus expressly tells us that this fortress stood in the lower city: he says of Antiochus, *τὴν ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει ᾠκοδόμησεν ἄκραν.* Ant. XII. 5. 4. Reland mentions that the Syrians and Chaldæans also call this fortress חקרא.

[2] Erroneously called by Dr Robinson and others, the ridge of Ophel. Ophel was not the name of a hill, but of some definite fortified spot, or tower, or building. See Relandi Palæst. II. p. 855. It is to be regretted that Mr Williams, who saw this, should yet have marked the hill Ophel in his plan.

[3] For it must be this part which Josephus calls the Lower City, B. J. IV. 9. 12, and to which he specially alludes under the name Akra. B. J. V. 6. 1, and VI. 6. 3. The former of these two passages is thus printed by Dr Cardwell: *Κατεῖχε δὲ*

Taken as a whole, the shape of the Lower City accords very fairly with what Josephus says of it, that it was gibbous[1]; that is, pointed at the extremities and

ὁ μὲν Σίμων τήν τε ἄνω πόλιν καὶ τὸ μέγα τεῖχος ἄχρι τοῦ Κεδρῶνος, τοῦ τε ἀρχαίου τείχους ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς Σιλωᾶς ἀνακάμπτον εἰς ἀνατολήν, ὃ μέχρι τῆς Μονοβάζου κατέβαινεν αὐλῆς —βασιλεὺς δὲ οὗτος ἦν τῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην Ἀδιαβηνῶν—κατεῖχε δὲ καὶ τὴν πηγὴν καὶ τὴν Ἄκραν,—αὕτη δὲ ἦν ἡ κάτω πόλις,—καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῶν Ἑλένης βασιλείων, τῆς τοῦ Μονοβάζου μητρός. Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης τό τε ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ πέριξ ἐπ' οὐκ ὀλίγον, τόν τε Ὀφλᾶν καὶ τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα. But the Paris manuscript, which is the oldest, and whose readings agree remarkably with the old Latin version of Rufinus, so that Dr Cardwell confesses to have followed it less than he should have done, gives us instead of *τὴν Ἄκραν*, the reading *τὰς ἄκρας*: which though clearly not right itself, leads to the conclusion that the true reading is *τῆς ἄκρας*, as two of the Florence manuscripts (L and N) have it. The Paris MS. also omits the *καὶ* after *ἡ κάτω πόλις*. Probably some transcriber taking *τὰς ἄκρας* for the plural accusative, altered it to *τὴν Ἄκραν*, and then inserted the *καὶ* to make sense. The true reading is further established by the Latin version, "Tenebat etiam montem Acræ, quæ inferior est civitas, usque ad Helenæ regiam." Besides which, the passage in B. J. VI. 6. 3, shews that the palace of Helena was in the middle of the Akra. Now the mention of Akra in connection with the fountain (Siloah), which was in the south of the Cheesemakers' valley, shews that the part of the ridge south of the temple must be here intended: and it appears that during the feuds in the city at the commencement of the siege, Simon Bargiora held most of the New City, which was enclosed by the third or great wall, also the Upper City, the fountain of Siloah, and the western part of the Lower City south of the temple: including both the western wall of that ridge, and also the ridge itself inwards, as far as Helena's palace. The eastern part of the ridge, including the building of Ophel, together with the temple, and probably the Antonia, and all that was included between the first and second wall, as also that part of the New City which lay immediately to the east of the second wall, was in the possession of John of Gischala. The Hall of Monobazus probably stood at or near the southern point of the Lower City, immediately over Solomon's pool. With regard to the expression, *ἀνακάμπτον εἰς ἀνατολήν*, see the remarks on the first wall of Josephus hereafter. The passage, B. J. VI. 6. 3, also favours the conclusion that Helena's palace was in the same part of the city with Ophel. Perhaps in this passage the first Akra may mean the parts north of the temple, including the remains of the Antonia, the second Akra the parts south of the temple.

[1] *ἀμφίκυρτος*. The word is applied by Suidas, Theophrastus, and Martianus Capella to the moon in her third quarter. See Relandi Palæst. II. p. 852.

with convex sides: for the hill is broadest in the middle, in that part formerly occupied by the temple; and it becomes very narrow at the southern end. The northern extremity it is not easy, physically, to define. It may be necessary to premise, what will be hereafter proved, that the temple occupied the southern part of the present Haram.

Josephus further tells us, that the princes of the Asmonæan race "levelled the summit of Akra, and reduced its elevation, in order that the temple might be seen above it in this direction." This refers, of course, not to the whole of the hill[1], but only to the original Akra, the part north of the temple, where the Greek-Syrian fortress stood. The operation is referred, in another passage of Josephus, to the times immediately following the capture of the fortress by Simon Maccabeus[2]: and the marks of it are to be seen at the

[1] It is this notice that has induced all writers hitherto, to suppose, with Reland, that the temple stood, not on the second, but on the third hill of Josephus. Such a supposition is almost contradicted by the words of the passage itself: for we are told that the Asmonæans diminished the height of Akra in order that the temple might be seen above it in this direction: that is, in the direction of the part levelled. Now if the part levelled adjoined the temple, and formed part of the same hill with the temple-hill, this is intelligible enough, as the temple would by this means be made conspicuous to the whole of the city; but had the part levelled been a distinct hill from that on which the temple stood, then the operations could have only been carried on in order that the temple might be seen above the other hills of the city by the country round: which is, to say the least, in the highest degree unlikely, and which is moreover contradicted by the facts of the case; for, as Mr Williams observes, there is not a hill in the neighbourhood which is not higher, to this day, than that occupied by the Great Mosk.

For an account of the principal theories concerning Akra to which this error has given rise, the reader is referred to Note A. at the end of the volume.

[2] Josephus, Ant. XIII. 6. 6. There is at first sight a seeming discrepancy between this account and that of the author of the first Book of Maccabees, who says that Simon, after entering into the tower (or fortress, ἄκρα), made the hill of the

present day. For not only are there traces that the rocky surface in the northern part of the Haram has been scarped, but, at the north-west angle, the Haram is bounded by a precipice of rock, facing inwards, which extends along a part of the northern and also for a short distance along the western side[1]. This precipice is in some parts as high as twenty feet[2]. Why Simon or his successors should have left this precipice, instead of levelling a little further northward so as to reach the northern extremity of the hill, it is not easy to say: perhaps they thought the levelling had been carried sufficiently far to render the temple secure, and to expose it to full view. The antient crest of the hill, on which in earlier times had stood the old stronghold of Zion, has thus disappeared.

The Valley of the Cheesemakers, which separated the Upper City from the temple-hill, or Akra, is now occupied by the Moors' quarter: and its depth must have been materially diminished since the days of Josephus. Different proofs of this will come incidentally before us in the course of our investigations; and we shall forbear anticipating the questions with which they are connected by dwelling on them at present. The buildings successively erected by the hands of man, and the repeated desolations of eighteen centuries, have availed to weaken, though not entirely to obliterate the variety of nature's outline. Here in fact lie accumulated the materials of the temple and city

temple that was by the tower stronger than it was, and dwelt there himself with his company. 1 Macc. xiii. 52. The accounts are however easily reconciled by supposing that Simon first reduced the height of the hill, and afterwards built the castle of Baris, which stood somewhat to the south of the former stronghold.

[1] See Williams, Holy City, II. p. 409. No one seems to have given any definite estimate of the length of this precipice.

[2] Catherwood, in Bartlett's Walks, p. 174.

that have rolled down gradually from above—"consolidated in the lapse of ages by the soil and rubbish that has been washed on to the surface, and which has been sunk into it from year to year;" and here, if any explorations could be made unchecked by the jealousy of the Moslem government, they "would most surely yield a rich product of Jewish and Roman antiquities[1]."

The only indications of the position of the third hill given us by Josephus are that it lay over against Akra, and that the broad valley that once separated it from Akra had been filled up by the Asmonæans at the time that they levelled the summit of the latter hill. These indications will sufficiently serve to identify the third hill with the hill of the Muhammedan quarter of the modern city, lying to the north of the Haram esh-Sherîf: and the broad valley must have followed the direction of the street that now leads westward from the eastern gate. This street is nearly on a level with the Haram, while the hill on the north rises considerably above it: which is exactly what we might expect to find from the language of Josephus.

Lastly, the New-town or Bezetha corresponds to the ridge of the modern Hâret Bâb el-Hitta. The greater part of this ridge is excluded by the modern wall: its highest point is nearly north-east of the summit of the third hill. The ridge is to this day "covered with ruins and cisterns, and bears evident traces of having been once thickly peopled." The author of the "Holy City," to whom we are indebted for the first accurate account of this hill, and for the identification of it with Bezetha, and from whom the remark last quoted has been borrowed, further observes that it does, as Josephus says in another chapter, completely

[1] Notes to Traill's Josephus, II. p. cix.

overshadow the temple-hill from the north, and when covered with buildings must have entirely obscured the view of the temple itself from that quarter[1]. We may, in the account that Josephus gives us of Bezetha, observe another instance of remarkable and yet at the same time natural and probably unconscious accuracy in the historian's language. It is this: that in describing the gradual creeping of the city beyond its walls, he speaks of the people incorporating with the city the parts north of the temple in addition to the [third] hill; thus implying that those parts north of the temple were not a hill: which in truth they are not: for the parts meant are clearly the north-eastern portions of the present Haram. These parts are flat, and could never have risen above the level of the temple. It was not till the people had advanced northward "to a considerable distance," that the fourth *hill* was surrounded with habitations. All notice of the fosse that separated Bezetha from the Antonia must be deferred till we come to examine the exact position of that fortress.

The fundamental points both in the Biblical topography and also in that of Josephus being thus established, we may now proceed to trace the history and gradual progress of the city.

[1] Jos. B. J. v. 5. 8. Williams, Holy City, II. pp. 52, 53.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE CITY.

WHEN the patriarch Abraham, after his victory over the king of Elam and his confederate princes, and his rescue of his nephew Lot, was returning to the place of his abode at Hebron, we are told that the king of Sodom went out to meet him at the valley of Shaveh, which is the King's dale: and that Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was the priest of the most high God. The patriarch received Melchizedek's blessing, and gave him tithes of all[1].

Here all historical notice of Melchizedek ends: and it has been much questioned among both Jews and Christians of every age, whether his city is to be identified with Jerusalem, which is once called Salem by the Psalmist. So far as weight can be attached to any tradition on such a point as this, the authority of Josephus may be considered to stand as high as any, and he does not seem to have doubted that Jerusalem was indeed Melchizedek's city. That the King's dale was the valley immediately to the east of Jerusalem is established by a comparison of the scriptural and Josephine accounts of the position of Absalom's pillar[2]: and the symbolical character of the whole transaction with which Melchizedek's name is connected, must be allowed to add almost conclusive force to the identification of Salem with the future metropolis of the Jewish nation.

[1] Gen. xiv. 17—20.

[2] 2 Sam. xviii. 18. Jos. Ant. VII. 10. 3.

Assuming this, we shall find grounds for believing that the city was called Jerusalem even in Abraham's time. The name seems to have been definitely established at the time of the Jewish conquest of the land of Canaan[1]: and had Salem been the current designation of the city under Melchizedek, it is not easy to assign any reason for which the name should have been changed from Salem to Jerusalem in the intervening period. The name Salem signifies "Peace," the name Jerusalem (according to the best interpretation) "Foundation of Peace:" and it is obvious that the latter appellation is far more likely to have come from the founder himself, than from any subsequent ruler or conqueror. There is no more reason for regarding Salem as the ordinary name of the city in the Book of Genesis, than in the Book of Psalms: while on the contrary, it is highly probable that the inspired historian would, merely on account of the symbolical meaning attaching to the name, prefer designating Melchizedek as King of Salem, or King of Peace, rather than as King of Jerusalem. Distinct reference is made to the ethical meaning of the word Salem in the Epistle to the Hebrews[2]: and the universal Jewish tradition, to which many Christian authors have given their assent, regards even the name Melchizedek itself rather as symbolical than as real.

The Jerusalem of Melchizedek occupied probably the hill known in after times as that of the Upper City. There is a far less definite but perhaps in some respects hardly less interesting connection subsisting between a subsequent passage in the life of Abraham and the whole of the district in which Jerusalem stood.

When the promised son whom Abraham and Sarah had so long desired, and who had at length been granted to their prayers, was growing up to maturity,

[1] See Josh. x. 3, &c. [2] Heb. vii. 2.

God exercised once more the patriarch's faith by bidding him take his son, his only son Isaac whom he loved, and go into the land of Moriah; and there offer him for a burnt offering upon one of the mountains of which He would tell him[1]. It has too generally escaped notice, that the name Moriah is clearly employed in the Book of Genesis not as the designation of a single hill, but of a whole district or tract of country. The name never came in antient times into popular or ordinary use: it is never elsewhere employed in the Bible, except in a single passage in the Second Book of Chronicles, where we read that "Solomon began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem in mount Moriah, where the Lord appeared unto David his father[2]." The object of the mention of the name in this place was probably to point out that the district in which Solomon's temple was built had been rendered memorable in patriarchal times by the typical sacrifice of Isaac. Yet there is no ground for supposing that the name Moriah is even here restricted to any single hill: the Hebrew word *hor* which we render "mount" is constantly used in the Old Testament, as for instance in the phrase "Mount Ephraim," to denote the whole of a mountainous district[3]: and the name, not being in popular use, could hardly be employed with any more confined meaning than it bears in the Book of Genesis, where alone the key to the right interpretation of it could be sought. Nor are there any just grounds for asserting that any of the Jewish writers ever supposed only a single hill to be intended. Wherever the name is to be found in their writings, it appears only as a Scriptural and historical, not as a current name: and

[1] Gen. xxii. 2.

[2] 2 Chron. iii. 1.

[3] Josh. xvii. 15, &c. So also the word הר is used of the mountain-district of Judah. Josh. xv. 48. See also Josh. x. 40; xi. 16.

though in the popular nomenclature of our own day, the hill on which the temple was built and which is now occupied by the Haram esh-Sherîf is often known as Mount Moriah, yet the Rabbies always speak of it under the simple title "The Mountain of the House," or Temple-mount. The practice of designating the hill by the name Moriah seems therefore to be of Christian origin; and the first introduction of the usage may with great probability of correctness be ascribed to the Christian father Jerome, whose learning and whose claims on the gratitude of posterity cannot be disputed, but whose accuracy in matters of sacred topography is unfortunately by no means equal to his learning[1].

It might be expected that a clue to the true application of the name Moriah, as used in Scripture, would be furnished by its etymology. This however has in every age been a subject of much uncertainty both among Jews and Christians: at least if we may judge by the variety of interpretations that have been offered of the word. Of the whole number of these, that which explains the name Moriah to mean *the fear of Jehovah* claims a decided preference. It is supported by the authority of the Chaldee paraphrase of the Book of Genesis: it is approved by Calvin, whose solid learning and profound skill as an interpreter of Scripture are universally acknowledged: and it rests upon a simple, obvious and legitimate etymology[2]. Moreover by

[1] See Hieron. Quæst. in Genes. Opp. III. p. 337. ed. Vallars.

[2] It is derived from the root יראּ *to fear*, with the title יה suffixt. A somewhat similar form is Hodijah from the root ידה. Neh. ix. 5. See the remarks in Gherardi Outhovii Obss. de montibus Sionis, in Ugolini Thesaurus, Tom. VII. The only other etymology which it is necessary to notice is that proposed by Fuller (Miscell. II. 14) and since defended by Hengstenberg (Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch, I. p. 275; II. p. 159 seqq. Eng. Transl.). They derive it from the Hophal of the verb ראה, and make it denote the place of *the appearing of Jehovah*, and regard the name Jehovah-jireh as

adopting this interpretation we shall find no difficulty in explaining the origin of the name by a reference to the previous events in the life of Abraham related in the Book of Genesis. Those who read with attention the account of the erection of the altars by the patriarchs in their various migrations, will hardly doubt that on each occasion on which an altar was built a special divine sanction for its erection had been previously obtained. It was not in every place that the patriarchs sacrificed: the erection of an altar was a solemn and memorable event: the spot on which it stood was thenceforward hallowed ground: and it is partly for this reason that the place of each patriarchal altar is so distinctly recorded. Abraham's first altar was at Shechem, by the oak of Moreh: it commemorated God's first appearance to him after he had entered the promised land. His second altar was between Bethel and Hai; and it was to this same place that he returned, after his journey into Egypt. His third altar was at Hebron[1]. All these three altars were thus situated within the mountain-district that was subsequently known under the name of the hill-countries of Ephraim and Judah, and of which the city of Jerusalem occupied nearly the central point. This district seemed to be thus invested with a peculiar sanctity: it was the particular district out of all the promised land, in which God had chosen to set His Name. Some time afterwards Abraham wanders without the limits of this mountain-district, and sojourns at Gerar and Beersheba,

a mere explanatory paraphrase of it. But 1°. The Hophal of ראה always means *to be shewn*, not *to be seen:* 2°. Even if the Hophal did mean *to be seen*, there would be no necessary connection between this and the Kal of the same verb, between *Jehovah appearing*, and *Jehovah seeing* or *providing:* 3°. This etymology gives no satisfactory account of the long *o* or Cholem in the first syllable of the word Moriah.

[1] Gen. xii. 7, 8; xiii. 18.

on the borders of the wilderness. He feels himself as it were in exile. His thoughts are those of David in the hundred and twentieth Psalm, "Woe is me that I sojourn in Mesech, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar!" He says to himself, "Surely *the fear of God* is not in this place[1]." After his adventures with Abimelech he plants a grove and calls on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God[2]; but he builds no altar; it is not the place where God will set His Name. It is here at Beersheba that the command is given him to offer up his son Isaac. The particular hill on which the sacrifice is to be offered God will point out to him on his journey: but the direction in which he is to set off is described to him in a way which he cannot mistake :— he is to go into the land of Moriah—the land of the fear of Jehovah—the hallowed mountain-district within which he had in time past been permitted to hold communion with Jehovah in the most solemn manner, by sacrificing on the altars which he had raised to the honour of His Name. And the course of the subsequent history shews that this district was thus regarded as having been marked by God more especially for His own. It is true that Isaac was permitted to build an altar at Beersheba[3]: but there may have been peculiar circumstances, perhaps of a political nature, which prevented him from ever penetrating farther northward into the land of Canaan. Jacob's altars, at Shalem and Bethel, were both built within the limits of the mountain-land of Moriah[4]: much as he travelled, long as he sojourned first in Mesopotamia and afterwards in Egypt, we never read of his building altars at any other places than these. The latter of these is a place of peculiarly solemn interest, even before the building

[1] Gen. xx. 11.
[2] Gen. xxi. 33.
[3] Gen. xxvi. 25.
[4] Gen. xxxiii. 20; xxxv. 7.

of the altar there. Jacob is passing through the land of Moriah on his way from Beersheba to Mesopotamia. He sleeps at Bethel: and after the vision of his dream, he awakes out of his sleep, and exclaims, "Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not." He is *afraid:* (the word in the Hebrew expresses a reverential fear, and is the same that is used in the composition of the name Moriah:) "How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven[1]." The tradition evidently goes down among Jacob's posterity that the mountain-district of Moriah has been designed for the Lord's dwelling-place. When they are marching forth from Egypt, and triumphing in their deliverance from their enemies in the passage of the Red Sea, they sing of the mercies that await them, "Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of Thine inheritance, in the place, O Lord, which Thou hast made for Thee to dwell in, in the Sanctuary, O Lord, which Thy hands have established[2]." It could not be the particular site of Jerusalem which they intended in these words: for in that case, how could they, when they first divided the land of their inheritance, have contented themselves with setting up the tabernacle at Shiloh, instead of rendering Jerusalem at once the religious capital of the nation? They only knew that God had selected for His dwelling-place the sacred mountain-land of Moriah: the exact scene of Abraham's sacrifice had been purposely left unrecorded, in order that the limits of the doubly hallowed ground might not be prematurely drawn too close. And accordingly it was within the district of Moriah that they assembled and set up the tabernacle: nor was it till after Shiloh had been desecrated for the

[1] Gen. xxviii. 16, 17. [2] Ex. xv. 17.

wickedness of the people of Israel in the times of the judges, that the Lord caused His sanctuary to be built on the particular hill which in His secret counsel He had foredetermined—even the Mount Zion which He loved.

Yet it was not unnatural that after the temple had been erected, and the sanctity of the whole mountain-district of Moriah concentrated, at least in the eyes of the Jewish people, on the single hill of Zion, the Jewish doctors should have imagined that it was on this very hill that Isaac was bound for sacrifice. We know that this was the popular belief in the days of Josephus[1]: and the Rabbies, although they do not limit the application of the name Moriah, yet regard even the exact site of Abraham's altar as the same with that of the altar which David built in the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and consequently with that of the brasen altar in the court of Solomon's temple. They fancifully assert that it was on the same spot that Noah built his altar when he came forth from the ark; they declare that it was hither that Cain and Abel brought their offerings: nay, interweaving their own fables with the Bible records, they tell that here Adam was created and that here he sacrificed immediately after his creation[2]. Among the native Christians of Jerusalem a different tradition has obtained currency. To this day they point out the place of the immolation of Isaac upon the rock of Calvary. The tradition is distinctly mentioned in the narrative of Bishop Arculf's pilgrimage, at the end of the seventh century[3]: there are some indications of it in a passage in a commentary on the Gospel of St Mark falsely

[1] See Jos. Ant. VII. 13. 4.

[2] See Lightfoot, Chor. Cent. cap. XXVII.

[3] Early Travels in Palestine, Bohn's Series, p. 3.

ascribed to St Jerome[1]: and the way in which idle traditions gain strength by being repeated is curiously illustrated by the apparent reference to this passage in a sermon printed in the editions of the works of St Augustine. The author of this sermon says, "The presbyter St Jerome has written, that he had ascertained it as an undoubted fact from the elders and chief men among the Jews that Isaac was offered on the same spot on which the Lord Christ was afterwards crucified[2]." It is hardly necessary to observe that as the exact spot of Abraham's sacrifice is unrecorded in the Book of Genesis, all traditions respecting it can rest on no authority. But perhaps without too minutely scrutinizing the origin of either the Jewish or Christian tradition, we may be allowed to trace in them the popular, and even if somewhat superstitious, yet not entirely blameworthy expression of the respective creeds of the followers of the two religions. The Jew, to whom the single name—The Temple—includes all that is dearest and holiest in his sight, and whose hopes are all bound up with the expectation that it shall be one day restored, cannot resist the belief that it was on the temple-mount that the typal or at least prelusive immolation of Isaac must have taken place. The Christian, on the other hand, regarding the Jewish as a merely temporary dispensation, and seeing in the oblation of Isaac an immediate and more perfect prefiguration of the death of Christ than was ever afforded by the sacrifices that were celebrated on Mount Zion, acknowledges that it was in the death of Christ that the patriarchal types were really fulfilled, by identifying the spot of Isaac's immolation with the scene of the Saviour's crucifixion.

[1] See Hieron. Opp. x. Part III. p. 125, ed. Vallars.

[2] Augustini Opp. v. p. 2306. c. ed. Bened. 1837.

Although the Scriptures testify, as we have seen, to the existence of the city of Jerusalem in the days of Abraham, they do not furnish us with any history of its origin. In an extract from the Egyptian historian Manetho, preserved to us by Josephus, the foundation of the city is ascribed to the Hyksos after their expulsion from Egypt. According to the account of this author, after the Hyksos or Shepherd-Kings had remained masters of Egypt for about five hundred and eleven years, the princes of the Thebaid and of the other independent Egyptian states undertook to drive them from the country. A long and obstinate war ensued. At length the arms of Alisfragmuthosis so far prevailed, that the Hyksos were confined within the fortified camp of Avaris, which enclosed a space of ten thousand aruræ. Here they were besieged by Thummosis the son of Alisfragmuthosis; but the siege proving ineffectual, terms were finally arranged by which the Hyksos were allowed a free retreat from Egypt with all their possessions. They accordingly quitted the country, two hundred and forty thousand in number, crossed the desert into Syria, and there, fearing the power of Assyria, built the city of Jerusalem capable of containing the whole of their force. In a subsequent passage Manetho speaks of the Hyksos of Jerusalem marching forth two hundred thousand strong to invade Egypt at the solicitation of the leprous multitude that king Amenophis had expelled from the country, and in whom we recognize, in an Egyptian disguise, the nation of the Israelites[1].

On the general exaggerations and inconsistencies of Manetho's story it would be out of place here to dwell. The only question which is necessary to our present purpose to discuss, is whether there be any

[1] Jos. con. Apion. I. 14, 26.

truth in the account he gives of the foundation of Jerusalem. Now on this point, while we have no external evidence to confirm Manetho's narrative, there are reasons of considerable weight for denying the connection of Jerusalem with the Hyksos. In the first place, the date of the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt is generally allowed to have been subsequent to the descent of Jacob into that country. But Jerusalem already existed in the days of Abraham. In the next place, there are no traces either in Scripture or in the Egyptian hieroglyphical inscriptions that Jerusalem was ever inhabited by the Hyksos, or Zuzim, with whom the Hyksos are, on etymological grounds, identified. It is probable therefore that Manetho's account of the origin of Jerusalem has no foundation in fact, but arose from some confused misapprehension of subsequent passages in the history of the Israelites.

But while the existence of the city in the time of Abraham must remain the earliest established point in the history of Jerusalem, the monuments of Egypt furnish us with some particulars respecting the city during the period of the Canaanitish wars of the powerful monarchs of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, corresponding with the period of the oppression of the Israelites in Egypt. The grounds on which the fortress Chadash of the Egyptian monuments has been identified with the city of Jerusalem appear as decisive as can well be desired[1]. The name corresponds almost exactly to the Hebrew Kodesh and the Arabic Kuds, the "Holy" City: the only difference being in the first letter, where the Egyptians have substituted a guttural aspirate for the strong Semitic *k* (*q*) which did not

[1] The identity was suggested by Mr Osburn, Ancient Egypt, p. 66, note; but was first established in an able article in the Christian Remembrancer for October 1849. Vol. XVIII. N. S. pp. 457—459.

exist in their language. And that in later times the Egyptians, like the Arabs of the present day, employed the appellation of "the Holy City" rather than that of Jerusalem, is proved by Herodotus' mention of the city under the title Kadytis, another form of Chadash, or rather perhaps of the Syriac Kadatha[1]. Chadash is represented as situate on a hill, and as surrounded on three sides by a river or brook which runs into the northern part of the Dead Sea; in no way could the geographical position of Jerusalem have been more clearly indicated.

The name Chadash proves that the city was regarded as holy from the earliest period; and that its sacred character did not commence with the building of the temple, or even with the removal of the ark thither by king David. The sanctity which is thus shewn to have attached to Jerusalem in primitive times is illustrated both by the history of the priestly Melchizedek, "The Righteous King," and by the name of the subsequent king Adonizedek, "The Righteous Lord."

We first meet with Chadash as a fortress of the Amorites in the reign of Sethos: the pictures shew that it was captured by that monarch[2]. The next mention of it is in the reign of the great Ramses, or Sesostris. Having invaded Canaan and taken the frontier town of Punon, which had been garrisoned by a united force of Jebusites and Arvadites, Sesostris pushed on to the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, and thence crossed over that sea, westward, into the land of the Jebusites. He here received an embassy from the Zuzim, informing him that the *Shetim* (whom Mr

[1] Herodotus, II. 159, III. 5. Jerusalem is called The Holy City by Isaiah, xlviii. 2; lii. 1.

[2] Osburn, Ancient Egypt, pp. 64—66.

Osburn identifies with the Moabites and Ammonites[1]) had invaded the country, taken the fortified camps that had been constructed by the Egyptians, and laid siege to Chadash, which is here described as being in the land of Heth. He accordingly marched westward through the territories of the Jebusites and Hittites, and met the enemy on a mountain to the south of the city of Chadash, where a great battle ensued[2]. It seems probable that some of the Zuzim were allied with the Egyptians in this battle, and as the Zuzim were of the number of the Rephaim, it is possible that the battlefield may have been the elevated plain of the Rephaim to the south-west of Jerusalem, which may have derived its name from this event[3].

It appears then, that the Egyptian records connect the city of Jerusalem with the nations of the Amorites and Hittites. We have thus a remarkable illustration of the appropriateness of the language which the prophet Ezekiel employs, though in a moral and symbolical sense, to describe the early history of Jerusalem: "Thus saith the Lord God unto Jerusalem; Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of Canaan; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother an Hittite[4]." The share which these two nations had in the city of Jerusalem is attested however by other passages of Scripture. When the Israelites entered the country under Joshua, the city was ruled by Adonizedek, who formed a league with four of the

[1] The children of Sheth (or "tumult"? cf. Jer. xlviii. 45) of Numb. xxiv. 17.

[2] Osburn, Ancient Egypt, pp. 80—90.

[3] Or "valley of the giants." Josh. xv. 8; xviii. 16. 2 Sam. v. 18, 22. Isaiah xvii. 5.

[4] Ezek. xvi. 3. The Amorites, whose own proper country lay to the east of the Jordan, probably constituted only the aristocracy in Jerusalem and the land of Heth.

neighbouring princes against the invaders, but was defeated and slain. The confederate princes are expressly called the "five kings of the Amorites[1]." On the other hand we meet, so late as the reign of David, with a remnant of the Hittite population of Jerusalem in the person of Uriah.

But at the time of the partition of the land of Canaan under Joshua, and during the whole of the period of the Israelitish judges, we find Jerusalem in the possession of a fresh nation; that of the Jebusites. It has been supposed by some, that the Jebusites were themselves merely a particular branch of the Amorites[2]. This theory is however certainly unsound: not only are the Jebusites and Amorites enumerated as separate nations in several passages of Scripture, but they are clearly distinguished in the records of the Egyptian monuments. The probability is that the Jebusites, whose original territory encompassed Jerusalem on the northern and eastern sides, took advantage of the discomfiture of Adonizedek and the Amorite host by Joshua, to gain possession of the sacred city; which thenceforward became their capital or principal town, and was in consequence specially designated by their name[3].

It has been suggested, with considerable appearance of truth, that the subsequent uncertainty as to whether Jerusalem pertained to the tribe of Benjamin or to that of Judah, may have arisen from the previous rival claims of the different Canaanitish tribes[4]. The

[1] Josh. x. 5.

[2] Ritter, Erdkunde, xv. p. 117. (2te Ausgabe.)

[3] Josh. xv. 8; xviii. 16, 28. Subsequently the name became not "the Jebusite," but "Jebus:" Judg. xix. 10. 1 Chron. xi. 4, 5.

[4] Christian Remembrancer, as before. The Rabbies divide the city between the two tribes, and fancifully draw the border line through the court of the temple. Lightfoot, Chorogr. Cent. cap. xxi.

Jebusite territory seems to have exactly corresponded to the inheritance of the tribe of Benjamin: while Judah received as his portion the territories of the Amorites and Hittites.

In the formal division of the land, the city was assigned to the tribe of Benjamin, the border line of Benjamin and Judah running along the valley to the south of the city[1]. The city itself, however, remained in the possession of the Jebusites all the days of Joshua[2]: some of the children of Judah dwelling with the Jebusites in it. After Joshua's death, it was stormed and fired by the children of Judah[3]: but neither they nor the Benjamites retained possession of it: and it was probably rebuilt by the Jebusites, and continued in their hands[4]. This state of things went on not only during the period of the Judges, but also during the reign of Saul, who was too hard pressed by the Philistines to be able to undertake anything against the other heathen tribes in the country. The final conquest of the city was thus reserved for the reign of David.

It is in the accounts of the capture of the city by David, that we have the first distinct notice of the two enclosures of which the future Jewish capital was compounded. The original city itself, afterwards called the Upper City, stood on a hill, the summit of which includes an extent of about seventy-five acres, surrounded by valleys on every side. On the crest of the hill to the east, this crest itself bearing north-east from the main city, stood the small isolated

[1] Josh. xv. 8; xviii. 16, 28.

[2] Josh. xv. 63.

[3] Judg. i. 8. Josephus tells us (Ant. v. 2. 2) that the Israelites took the Lower City but not the Upper. But he can have had no authority for the history of these times except the books of Scripture: and it is probable that the hill of Zion had not been built upon at this period.

[4] Judg. i. 21; xix. 10, 11.

stronghold of Zion: established in the first instance, perhaps, rather as a redoubt or outpost for defence, than with a view to its being inhabited. David, whose authority had now been acknowledged by all Israel for more than five years, marched up with a strong army to attack the place. The Jebusites, confident in the strength of their fortifications, mocked at him: but the day of the victory of Israel had now arrived: first the stronghold of Zion, and next, through the valour of Joab, the city itself, fell into the king's hands[1].

The account given us of this event by Josephus rests probably on no other authority than that of the Scriptures themselves, and would not be worth quoting, were it not for the proof it affords that Josephus himself regarded the Zion of Scripture as identical with the Lower City of his own day. The accounts in the books of Samuel and Chronicles represent David as taking the stronghold of Zion first, and the Jebusite city afterwards. Josephus represents him as taking the Lower City first, and afterwards the Citadel. There can be no doubt therefore, that in Josephus' view, Zion was the Lower City, and the Jebusite city the Citadel[2].

[1] 2 Sam. v. 6 seqq. 1 Chron. xi. 4 seqq.

[2] Jos. Ant. VII. 3. 1. It is right to mention that here Josephus calls the citadel ἄκρα; whereas in the description of Jerusalem he calls it φρούριον. I do not think this difference of nomenclature of much importance. The passage in the Antiquities is sufficient to shew that the akra there is not to be identified with the Lower City, the Akra of later times: they are evidently also distinguished in the next section, where it is said, Δαυΐδης δὲ τήν τε κάτω πόλιν περιλαβών, καὶ τὴν ἄκραν συνάψας αὐτῇ, ἐποίησεν ἓν σῶμα. Perhaps the only reason for which Josephus used the word φρούριον in B. J. v. 4. 1, was to distinguish it from the later Akra—viz. the Greek-Syrian Akra, or Lower City. The ἄκρα or φρούριον of David is therefore the Upper City. Josephus uses the word ἄκρα of the Upper

The first care of David after his conquest of the place that he destined for the capital of his kingdom, was to unite the stronghold of Zion to the rest of the city. This he did by carrying a fortified mound or embankment from hill to hill. This embankment is called in Scripture Millo[1]. Its walls and fortifications have disappeared in the lapse of ages, but the embankment remains to the present day, running from the north-east corner of the Upper City across the valley to a part of the hill of Zion probably some three or four hundred feet south of the site on which the old stronghold stood. The parts round the stronghold, and more especially the parts between the stronghold and Millo, were gradually covered with buildings. The king himself made the stronghold of Zion his own residence, and gave to this, and to the new part of the city that was springing up around him, the name

City, or rather of some castle in it, Ant. XII. 10. 4: and in Ant. XV. 7. 8, says there were two φρούρια, one of the city, the other of the temple.

[1] מִלּוֹא from מָלָא to fill. The meaning of this word has perplexed the Jews both of older and more recent times. The translators of the LXX. version at one time render it μελώ, 1 Kings ix. 24: at another time ἄκρα, 2 Sam. v. 9. 1 Kings xi. 27. Once μελὼ and ἄκρα appear to be coupled together to express the single Hebrew word: there is however some uncertainty in the passage. 1 Kings ix. 15. Once it is rendered ἀνάλημμα, 2 Chron. xxxii. 5: and in one instance the passage containing the word is omitted altogether. 1 Chron. xi. 8. The later Jewish opinions respecting Millo are given by Lightfoot (Chor. Cent. cap. XXIV.) who says: "There is one who supposes it to be a large place appointed for public meetings and assemblies. Another interprets it of heaps of earth, thrown up against the wall within, whence they might more easily get up upon the wall: and when David is said to build Millo, that he erected towers upon these heaps and banks. Some others there are, who understand it of the valley or street that runs between Jerusalem and Zion, and so it is commonly marked out in the maps." I need hardly point out how naturally all those views would flow from that which I have taken in the text: merely observing that the council-house mentioned by Josephus (Bel. Jud. V. 4. 2) must have either stood on Millo or adjoined it.

of the City of David[1]. The repair of the fortifications of the Upper City was entrusted to the care of Joab, who had been the first to enter it[2].

From this time forward, the two hills, with the intervening valley, formed the characteristic feature of Jerusalem: and to understand all the future topographical notices of it, it is absolutely necessary to conceive of it as a double or two-hilled city. It is true that the two parts could not be strictly said to face each other till after the building of Solomon's temple, the site of which was due east of the Upper City, while it lay to the south of the stronghold of Zion and on the same hill with it. This site during the reign of David remained uncovered with buildings; being partly occupied by the threshing-floor of Araunah. It seems also very doubtful whether the new part of the city was walled in till a much later period, although it was protected in a great measure by the stronghold of Zion which stood in the centre of it. This stronghold became, as we have seen, David's residence: and it was probably within its limits that David's cedar house was built for him by the workmen sent him by Hiram king of Tyre[3]. The double character of the city gave rise in later times to a fanciful and, etymologically speaking, false spelling of the name Jerusalem, an *i* being introduced into the last syllable, and the name thus written not Jerusalem, but Jerusalaim, in accordance with the usual termination of the Hebrew form for the dual number[4].

Although the Israelites were now completely masters of the city, yet some of the old Jebusite population still continued to dwell in or round Jerusalem.

[1] 2 Sam. v. 9. 1 Chron. xi. 7, 8.
[2] 1 Chron. xi. 8.
[3] 2 Sam. v. 11; vii. 2. 1 Chron. xiv. 1; xvii. 1.
[4] See the article on Jerusalem in Gesenius' Lexicon.

Of this number was Araunah or Ornan[1], the master of the threshing-floor which David subsequently bought for the erection of his altar in the time of the plague, and which became the site of the Jewish temple. Araunah himself[2], and probably the rest of his countrymen also, became proselytes to the Jewish religion: so much so, that the name Jebusite is used by the prophet Zechariah as representative of those, who though sprung of heathen or Gentile blood, should yet turn unto the Lord[3].

But while Jerusalem had thus become the seat of the civil government of the Israelites, and the residence of their sovereign, there was something yet wanting to make it the true metropolis of the chosen nation. The government of the nation, although it was now administered by a king instead of by judges, was still, essentially, not a mere earthly monarchy, but a theocracy: God was the real King of Israel—David was but his vassal. God's presence with His people was yet testified by the ark of the covenant, where He dwelt between the cherubim[4]. After the conquest of the country by Joshua, the ark had been set up in the tabernacle[5], at Shiloh in the tribe of Ephraim: where it continued, till it was fetched, unjustifiably, as the

[1] 2 Sam. xxiv. 16. 1 Chron. xxi. 15. The Hebrew text of 2 Sam. xxiv. 23, would seem to imply that Araunah was the old Jebusite king, or was at least of the Jebusite blood royal. But the word King does not occur in the LXX, Syriac, and Arabic versions, nor was it in many copies of the Vulgate till Sixtus' correction, nor in the Chaldee paraphrase till the time of Kimchi: see Patrick in loco.

[2] See the account 2 Sam. xxiv. 23.

[3] Zech. ix. 7.

[4] Ex. xxv. 22. Numb. vii. 89. 1 Sam. iv. 4. 2 Sam. vi. 2. 2 Kings xix. 15. Ps. lxxx. 1; xcix. 1.

[5] This is, I think, implied: though only the tabernacle, and not the ark, is actually mentioned. Josh. xviii. 1. But the ark is distinctly said to have been brought from Shiloh: 1 Sam. iv. 4. It has been surmised from Judg. xx.

narrative seems to imply, into the Israelitish camp during the Philistine war in the days of Eli. In the battle that followed, the Israelites had been utterly discomfited, and the ark taken by the Philistines. Among them it had remained seven months. At the end of that period, terrified by the plagues with which God had visited them, they sent it back to Bethshemesh. The men of Bethshemesh themselves were severely smitten, for looking into the ark: and they desired the inhabitants of Kirjath-Jearim to fetch it from them. At Kirjath-Jearim it consequently remained, in the house of Abinadab, all through the reign of Saul and the first years of the reign of David[1].

that at the time of the Benjamite war the ark was at Bethel: but without reason. The Israelites originally assembled at Mizpeh: (v. 1) they thence went up to Bethel (v. 18: "house of God" in our Eng. Ver.) where they faced the Benjamites at Gibeah, and had Shiloh in their rear: and as Shiloh is only $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours or less than 10 miles distant from Bethel, they could easily, while their head quarters were at Bethel, have consulted the divine oracle at Shiloh. The word "there" in v. 27 need not be taken too strictly: and in xxi. 12 the Israelitish camp is represented as being at Shiloh. Equally precarious is the surmise that the ark "was occasionally carried to the national assemblies of the children of Israel to add solemnity to their meetings:" for which reference has been made to Josh. xxiv. 1, 25, 26. The words אשר במקדש יהוה in v. 26 should be referred to ספר: "the book that was in the sanctuary of the Lord." It is not likely that the writer would have described the oak at Shechem as "*the* oak (האלה) that was by the sanctuary of the Lord" had the sanctuary merely been removed to Shechem for a temporary occasion. On the site of Shiloh see Note B at the end of the volume.

[1] The English translation of 1 Sam vii. 2 is faulty: there should be a stop in the middle of the verse: the 20 years have nothing to do with the ark, but refer to what follows. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the ark was ever removed from Kirjath-Jearim during the reign of Saul for the purpose of being carried about to battle: which would have been an unauthorized profanation of it, similar to that for which it had been suffered by God to fall into the hands of the Philistines. The only passage that seems to countenance such a notion is 1 Sam. xiv. 18.

But now that Jerusalem was conquered, and made the royal residence, David determined to fetch again the ark of the Lord, to fix it at Jerusalem, and to provide for it a suitable abode. With the sanction of all Israel he brought it in procession, in a new cart, from the house of Abinadab in Kirjath-Jearim: Abinadab's own sons, Uzzah and Ahio, driving the cart. The joy of David was checked for a season by the death of Uzzah, who was smitten by God for his irreverence in touching the ark. The ark was accordingly allowed to remain for three months in the house of Obed-Edom the Gittite. The blessing that God vouchsafed to Obed-Edom and his household seemed at length to shew that His anger had ceased: and at the end of the three months, the ark was removed from the house of Obed-Edom to the tent that had been prepared for it in the City of David[1]. The account in the Book of Chronicles seems to imply that on this occasion were recited the hundred and fifth, the ninety-sixth, and the hundred and thirty-sixth Psalms: and probably the fifteenth, twenty-fourth, and sixty-eighth Psalms, possibly also the hundred and thirty-second, were composed either for the occasion, or in immediate commemoration of it.

David however was not satisfied with merely having brought the ark on to Mount Zion. He was ashamed that he himself should be dwelling in a house of cedars, while the ark of the covenant of the Lord remained under curtains: and he communicated to the prophet

But here the LXX, and seemingly, Josephus, read not ארון "ark," but אפוד "ephod:" and Dathe well remarks that Saul's purpose does not seem to have been to begin the battle, but to consult the oracle, for which purpose the ephod, not the ark, was needed. Ahiah had been specially mentioned as wearing an ephod, v. 3. And indeed 1 Chron. xiii. 3 implies that the ark had not been used in the days of Saul.

[1] 2 Sam. vi. 1 Chron. xiii. xv. xvi.

Nathan his desire of building a house for the Lord of Hosts. The prophet at first encouraged him in his design: but afterwards by divine direction, forbade him. He announced at the same time God's pleasure that David's son should build a house to His Name: and the monarch, thankful for the assurance that had been thus vouchsafed him, forthwith, and during the rest of his reign, employed himself in collecting materials for the construction of the future temple[1].

The subsequent sin of David in numbering the people was visited by God with a pestilence upon Israel which destroyed seventy thousand men. But as the angel was stretching out his hand upon Jerusalem to destroy it, the Lord repented Him of the evil, and said to the angel, "It is enough, stay now thine hand." The angel was now standing by the threshing-floor of Araunah: and here David beheld him, and falling on his face, with the elders of Israel, interceded with God for the people. The prophet Gad was commanded by the angel to bid David set up an altar unto the Lord in the threshing-floor of Araunah. This David hasted to perform. Araunah would fain have made the king a present not only of the threshing-floor, but of the oxen also and the other things required for sacrifice: but David would not offer to God of that which cost him nothing: and he purchased the threshing-floor and oxen for 600 shekels' weight of gold[2]. An altar was built, and burnt-offerings and peace-

[1] 2 Sam. vii. viii. 1 Chron. xvii. xviii.

[2] 1 Chron. xxi. 25. The legal shekel weighed about 10 dwt. Eng. and 600 shekels' weight of gold would thus be about £1150 in value. Jahn thinks that gold was weighed by the royal shekel (2 Sam. xiv. 26) which he is disposed to reckon at not more than the fourth, perhaps not more than the fifth or sixth part of the legal shekel. The whole matter is involved in considerable uncertainty. In 2 Sam. xxiv. 24, the sum paid by David is stated at 50 shekels of silver, not more than £5 or £6: perhaps this was the price of each of the oxen.

offerings offered: and the Lord testified His acceptance of David's offerings by answering him from heaven by fire upon the altar. David in consequence determined that this should remain the site of the altar of the burnt-offering for Israel: it being considered that God had accepted the new altar in place of the old altar of burnt-offering made by Moses in the wilderness, which, along with the old tabernacle of the congregation, was now in the high place at Gibeon[1].

From this time forward David devoted himself to prepare as far as he could for the building of the temple. The site of the altar having been fixed, his zeal seems to have been kindled more than ever in the work. Gold and silver, iron and brass, were collected in abundance: cedars were brought from Lebanon by David's allies the Zidonians and Tyrians: all the strangers throughout the land were collected together to labour: and the stones for the future house were hewn by experienced masons[2]. The princes and officers of Israel were summoned together, and invited to consecrate their service unto the Lord: an invitation to which they willingly responded[3]. Above all, David imparted to his son Solomon the pattern of all that he had by the spirit, of the house, its porch, its chambers, and its courts; the weight of the various vessels and instruments of service, the courses of the priests and Levites, all were prescribed[4]: and even the stations of the porters at the several gates, were all arranged by anticipation[5].

[1] But little is known respecting the history of the tabernacle during the reign of Saul. At one time it appears to have been fixed at Nob, 1 Sam. xxi. a town of which some account will be given in a future chapter of this volume. We have, however, no notice of its removal either from Shiloh to Nob, or from Nob to Gibeon.

[2] 1 Chron. xxii. 1—4.

[3] 1 Chron. xxviii. xxix.

[4] 1 Chron. xxviii. 11 seqq.

[5] 1 Chron. xxvi. 13—19.

In the history of the close of David's reign we have the first mention of the fountain of Gihon; at that time, probably, the principal fountain existing in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. It was rendered memorable as the scene of the proclamation of Solomon as king—a step of policy rendered advisable by the conspiracy of Adonijah[1]. David himself died soon after, "full of days, riches, and honour;" and was buried in his own part of the city—in the City of David[2]. The exact position both of Gihon and of the royal sepulchre will be hereafter determined.

To the warlike reign of David now succeeded the peaceful reign of Solomon: the wisdom, the piety, and the success of the father having laid the foundation of the son's greatness. The building of the temple was commenced in the fourth year of Solomon's reign, and completed in the eleventh[3]. All description of this most costly of buildings must however be deferred for the present. Suffice it to say that to this one achievement were dedicated all the resources that Solomon could command: cedar-wood from Lebanon[4], gold from the regions of the East[5]; the labour of more than a hundred and fifty thousand strangers that still remained in the land[6], and the skilled workmanship of the artificers of the merchant-city of Tyre[7]. Yet the material magnificence of the house was as nothing compared with the glory conferred upon it when God vouchsafed to consecrate it as His own abode: for when the ark had been moved into the most holy place, the house was filled with the visible token of God's presence, the cloud of the glory of the Lord[8].

[1] 1 Kings i. 32—40.
[2] 1 Kings ii. 10.
[3] 1 Kings vi. 37, 38.
[4] 1 Kings v. 6.
[5] 2 Chron. iii. 6.
[6] 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18.
[7] 2 Chron. ii. 13, etc.
[8] 2 Chron. v.

The temple however was not Solomon's only work at Jerusalem. No sooner was this completed, than he applied himself to the construction of a new palace for himself; the immediate occasion of which seems to have been his marriage with the daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt.

The name of Solomon is associated with more than one act, which although, as far as we can judge, decidedly contrary to the law of Moses, would yet seem at first sight, from the language of Scripture, to have been partially tolerated, or at least not decidedly condemned by God, at the time it was committed. Thus, for example, the Israelites had been commanded by Moses to destroy all the high places, and not to worship the Lord their God in places of that kind, but to bring their offerings to the one place in which the Lord should put His Name[1]. The custom of sacrificing in high places however prevailed in the beginning of the reign of Solomon, and Solomon himself conformed to the practice[2]. His general conduct in this respect is not indeed passed over entirely without censure; but we find that even the tabernacle itself stood in a high place at Gibeon[3]; and here David had appointed a set of priests for the service of it[4]; and here Solomon went and sacrificed: and not only is this mentioned without any mark of disapproval by the inspired historian, but it was in Gibeon, on the occasion of this very visit, that God appeared to Solomon in a dream by night, to offer him whatever gift he should desire[5]. Again, Moses, contemplating the establishment of monarchy in Israel, had forbidden the king to multiply horses to himself[6]; yet the number of horses that Solomon possessed is

[1] Deut. xii. 3—5.
[2] 1 Kings iii. 2, 3.
[3] 1 Kings iii. 4.
[4] 1 Chron. xvi. 39 seqq.
[5] 1 Kings iii 5 seqq.
[6] Deut. xvii. 16.

mentioned without any direct sentence of disapproval[1]. The same remark may be made with respect to the quantity of silver and gold that he had[2]. Again, considering how distinctly intermarriage with the Canaanitish nations was forbidden[3], and how this prohibition was regarded by Nehemiah as extending to intermarriage with the Moabites and Ammonites[4], it seems difficult to suppose that heathen marriages of any kind were not, to say the least, discountenanced: yet the marriage of Solomon with Pharaoh's daughter is never distinctly condemned, and it is generally regarded as having formed the suggestive occasion of even one of the finest of the Messianic Psalms[5]. It may be that in all these matters God did not see fit to visit Solomon with punishment till his non-compliance with the Mosaic law exceeded all bounds, and till his heart had been turned away from the Lord his God to worship idols. Yet it is not without feelings of regret that we can see Solomon, even in the earlier part of his reign, quitting his residence on Mount Zion, the hill on which his father had dwelt, and with which his father's name was so expressly associated, in order that he might not insult the patriotic and religious feelings of the nation, by suffering an Egyptian princess to remain, longer than was necessary, in the hallowed City of David, where the ark of the covenant of the Lord of Hosts had been[6].

The new palace of Solomon was situated, as we shall afterwards see, on the eastern brow of the Upper City, and was cut off from the temple by the intervening valley: it did not however exactly face the temple, but

[1] 1 Kings x. 26, 28. See however Isaiah ii. 7.

[2] Deut. xvii. 17; 1 Kings x. 23, 27; Isaiah ii. 7.

[3] Exod. xxxiv. 16; Deut. vii. 3.

[4] Neh. xiii. 23 seqq.

[5] Ps. xlv.

[6] 2 Chron. viii. 11. comp. 1 Kings iii. 1.

stood in a south-westerly direction from it. The account of it in the Old Testament is too slight to enable us to draw out anything like its internal plan; and the only way in which we can form any conception of it, is by supposing, as is most likely the case, that it bore a strong resemblance to the mansions or palaces of Egypt[1]. Like the Egyptian houses, it was probably divided into several distinct buildings: and the house where the king himself "dwelt," and the house which he made "for Pharaoh's daughter," seem to have been two of the separate component parts of the whole structure. We have also a special mention of the "porch of judgment;" and of a "great throne of ivory," overlaid with pure gold, which was probably the judgment-throne that stood in this porch. Of the form of this last, with its "two lions standing by the stays," we may readily obtain a fair representation, by comparing it with the Egyptian thrones of which engravings are to be found in the works of Mr Osburn and Sir G. Wilkinson[2]. The completion of the entire palace occupied a period of thirteen years. To a building which next after the temple must have formed the most splendid object in Jerusalem we might not unreasonably expect to find some incidental allusions in the Jewish literature of Solomon's time. It can hardly be doubted that it was his own palace that suggested to Solomon the image of Wisdom building her house and hewing out her seven

[1] 1 Kings vii. 1, 7, 8. For the plan of an Egyptian house see Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, 1st Series, Vol. II. Plate 5. In respect of the Jewish architecture, the passage Psalm cxliv. 12, must not be overlooked: though it cannot refer to Solomon's palace, as it was written in the reign of David. It is best interpreted of female figures used as supports: of which we find other examples in the Karyatides of Greece and the Isis-pillars of Egypt.

[2] 1 Kings x. 18—20; 2 Chron. ix. 17—19. For the Egyptian thrones, see Osburn, Ancient Egypt, p. 208: Wilkinson, Ancient Egyptians, 1st Series, Vol. II. Plate 11.

pillars[1]; or that reminded him that "through wisdom is an house builded, and by understanding it is established, and by knowledge shall the chambers be filled with all precious and pleasant riches[2]."

Among the works of Solomon's magnificence which most attracted the admiration of the Queen of Sheba was the ascent by which he went up unto the house of the Lord[3]. By this ascent may be most naturally understood a series of steps leading up from the valley on to the temple-hill, of which Solomon would have to make use in crossing the valley between his palace and the temple. By some, indeed, it has been taken to denote the causeway which connected the two hills of Jerusalem; but it is a matter of considerable doubt, and has been the occasion of much dispute, whether the Hebrew word will bear this meaning. It is clear however that the character of Solomon's ascent can only be properly determined by a reference to the other passages and authorities which bear upon the topography of this part of the holy city. Now in the account of the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem by Nehemiah, which will have to be considered at length hereafter, we have a mention of certain stairs "which go down from the city of David;" and it was by these stairs that one of the thanksgiving processions mentioned in the twelfth chapter of the Book of Nehemiah went up on their way to the water-gate of the temple[4]. Taking the "City of David" here to denote the whole of the temple-hill, it is obviously natural to identify the stairs mentioned by Nehemiah with the ascent of Solomon; or if it be necessary to suppose that this latter had been destroyed at the time of the demolition of the city by the Chaldeans, still there can be no doubt that

[1] Prov. ix. 1.
[2] Prov. xxiv. 3, 4.
[3] 1 Kings x. 5; 2 Chron. ix. 4.
[4] Neh. iii. 15; xii. 37.

the convenience of the restored exiles would necessitate the erection of a new, though probably less magnificent set of steps in place of the old. Furthermore Josephus, in describing the temple such as it existed in the days of Herod, informs us that on the western side of the temple-enclosure there were four gates; of which one led to the palace, (*i.e.* Herod's palace, which, as we shall see, occupied a different site from Solomon's,) by an artificial passage that intercepted the course of the valley; two led into the suburb; the fourth conducted to the rest of the city, there being a descent from it into the valley by a series of steps, and again an ascent in the same way on the other side[1]. The passage leading from the first gate must clearly be identified with the causeway Millo; to none of the other three gates just described could that causeway have formed the approach. The position of the suburb is determined by another passage of Josephus. In the account of the feuds between the rival parties of Hyrcanus and Antigonus (B.C. 40), when Hyrcanus, Herod and Phasael held the royal palace, which occupied the same site as the palace of Solomon, and the party of Antigonus had possession of the rest of the city and temple, we read that Herod, leaving his brother Phasael to guard the wall adjoining the palace, himself made a sally on the opposite party *by the way of the suburb,* and put an immense number to flight, forcing some to take refuge in the city, some in the temple, and some in a certain exterior fortification or entrenchment[2]. It seems clear

[1] Jos. Ant. xv. 11. 5.

[2] Jos. Ant. xiv. 13. 4. There is not much force in Dr. Robinson's remark, (Bibl. Sac. 1846, p. 425,) founded on the etymology of the word προάστειον, that the suburb must have been before the city and not in the heart of it. The Greek word is not one of Josephus' coinage, but was the most convenient that he could employ to represent the Hebrew Parbar: and besides, the suburb was *before* the Upper City, which was enclosed by its own wall.

from this, that by the suburb can only be understood the void space of the valley between the Upper City and temple; and this must have lain to the south of the causeway, because the Upper City did not stretch farther north than that. This suburb is in fact the same that is spoken of in the Books of Chronicles under the title Parbar, and in the Books of Kings by the name Parvar: in the former books its position is indicated, westward from the temple, and contiguous to the causeway; in the latter it is also mentioned as adjoining the entrance to the temple[1]. It follows from the order in which the temple-gates are enumerated by Josephus, that the steps of which he speaks must have been situated to the south of the suburb; they probably marked the southern boundary of the space called by that name. They thus formed a passage between the Upper City and the south-western corner of the temple area; and there can be no reasonable ground for denying their identity, in position, at least, with the stairs mentioned by Nehemiah, and with the ascent of Solomon.

With these steps Krafft has connected the fragment of an arch which Robinson discovered projecting forth from the western wall of the modern Haram esh-Sherîf[2]. Three courses of stones, of which one is five feet four inches thick, and the others not much less, are to be seen jutting outwards, their external surface hewn to a regular curve; and they thus form the commencement or foot of an immense arch which once sprang out from this western wall in the direction of the Upper City. The present soil of the valley is nearly on a level with

[1] 1 Chron. xxvi. 18; 2 Kings xxiii. 11.

[2] See Robinson, Bib. Res. I. p 425; and Bibl. Sac. 1846, p. 609; Williams, Holy City, II. p. 387; Krafft, p. 60; De Saulcy, Journey, II. p. 125. Eng. Transl. and Tobler, Topographie, I. p. 473.

the lowest point of the spring-stones. The southern side of the arch is thirty-nine feet distant from the south-western corner of the Haram area, and the arch itself extends fifty-one feet along the wall. The chord of the existing fragment measures, according to Robinson, twelve feet six inches; the sine eleven feet ten inches; the versed sine three feet ten inches. This would give for the arch a radius of twenty feet two inches. De Saulcy's measures are somewhat different, and give a radius of twenty-seven feet four inches. By these and other writers the arch is supposed to have formed part of an immense bridge which once stretched right across the valley, a distance of about 360 feet; and it is to this bridge that they assume reference to be made in several passages of Josephus, in which he speaks of a γέφυρα connecting the temple and the Upper City. But it seems to be fairly established that the Greek word will apply as well to an embankment as to an actual bridge; so that it may be, and probably is, to the causeway Millo that Josephus alludes under this title. Even the causeway itself is at its eastern extremity supported upon vaults[1]; and it was doubtless in this part that it was cut off, in Pompey's time, by the party of king Aristobulus, when they were preparing to defend themselves in the temple[2]. We know moreover that the γέφυρα of Josephus conducted immediately to the Xystus, which, as we learn from another passage, adjoined the northern city-wall[3]; so that the fragment of the arch stands too far south to have ever formed part of it. Mr Williams further adduces some mechanical arguments against the theory of the bridge, into which we shall not here examine, but which are

[1] Tobler, Denkblätter aus Jerusalem, p. 42.

[2] Jos. Ant. XIV. 4. 1; B. J. I. 7. 2.

[3] Jos. B. J. II. 16. 3; VI. 8. 1. Also, V. 4. 2.

certainly not without weight. It only remains then that we should regard the arch not as any portion of a bridge, but as having once supported the flight of steps that formed the ascent into the temple. The present height of the Haram esh-Sherîf above the level of the valley has been estimated at not less than sixty feet, and there can be no doubt that the accumulation of soil in the bed of the valley has been very great; indeed it is sufficiently proved by the fact that the ground now reaches up to the spring-stones of the arch. It is not reasonable that a series of steps reaching to a height of more than sixty feet would have been supported from underneath by a mass of solid masonry; and it might have been left to our imagination to conjecture upon what they could have rested. The existing remains of the arch here come in most opportunely, and remove all doubts on the subject. It is probable that besides the arch of which we have the fragments still existing, there was another lower arch to the westward; for the whole series of steps could not have well been less than a hundred feet in length. The steps on the other side of the valley leading on to the Upper City were most likely supported in a similar manner. It is only left for us to enquire to what date the remains of the arch are to be assigned. It may perhaps be doubted whether they ought to be referred to an earlier period than that of Herod; by whom, as we shall see, some portions of the Haram walls were certainly built. Yet we have no positive proof that this is the limit of their antiquity; it is even possible that they may be a remnant of the glories of Solomon. But if, as is more likely, the original work of Solomon had been destroyed, it may still be fairly assumed that the subsequent builders did but replace the former ascent by a new one, constructing it on a scale of

greater or less magnificence according to the means they possessed.

On the monument of Solomon's magnificence that we have just been discussing, considerable light has been thrown by the writings of Josephus, as well as by the existing remains. With regard to his last work, the House of the Forest of Lebanon, we are left almost entirely to gather such information as we may from the notices of Scripture[1]. It seems to be sufficiently distinguished from the royal palace; and was evidently designed as the armoury of Jerusalem. It may therefore be identified with the armoury mentioned in the Book of Nehemiah[2]; for though it must have been destroyed when Jerusalem was burnt by the Chaldeans, yet the new armoury was in all probability erected on the former site. Whether it was the same with the "tower of David builded for an armoury" of the Book of Canticles[3], is not so clear; it is possible that this may have been an earlier building of David's, situate within the stronghold of Zion. In the House of the Forest of Lebanon were deposited the two hundred golden targets and the three hundred golden shields that Solomon made. The house itself was one hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth, and thirty in height. Its roof was supported by three rows of cedar pillars, fifteen in each row, which divided the interior of the house into four alleys running along its entire length; and the beams and planks of the roof were also of cedar. This building stood, as we shall afterwards see, in the north-western part of what was subsequently defined as the temple-area; but nothing more than this can be determined respecting it. Its name was derived, as is evident, from the material of which it was constructed.

[1] Kings vii. 2—5; x. 16, 17. [2] Neh. iii. 19.
[3] Song Sol. iv. 4.

The reign of Solomon may be regarded as forming in many respects the most brilliant era in the history of Jerusalem. The wealth of the city is testified in the proverbial saying, that the king made silver in Jerusalem as stones[1]; and the Scriptures sufficiently declare, what it is the boast of the science of political economy to teach, that the wealth of Solomon was (under God's blessing) the fruits of his commerce. Jewish and Tyrian vessels traded as far as Tarshish in concert; and once in every three years the ships of Tarshish returned home bringing gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. A second commercial fleet was constructed in Ezion-geber, at the head of the western branch of the Red Sea; and thence sailed to fetch gold from Ophir[2]. It has been sometimes too hastily assumed that Jerusalem itself was not a place of much commerce. There is a passage in the prophet Ezekiel which seems to indicate that the very reverse is nearer the truth. The great city of Tyre is there represented as exulting in the downfall of Jerusalem, as of a rival emporium, on account of the increase that would thereby accrue to her own trade. "Tyrus hath said against Jerusalem, Aha, she is broken that was the gates of the people: she is turned unto me: I shall be replenished, now she is laid waste[3]." The trade between Judæa and Tyre was itself considerable; it was from Judæa that the Tyrians derived honey, and oil, and balm, and above all, wheat. The wheat more particularly specified is the wheat of Minnith, a town in the country of the Ammonites; and it would thus appear that the harvests of the countries east of the Jordan were brought to market at Jerusalem, and thence

[1] 1 Kings x. 27.
[2] 1 Kings x. 22; 2 Chron. ix. 21; 1 Kings ix. 26—28; 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18.
[3] Ezek. xxvi. 2.

conveyed to Tyre[1]. The land of Israel was however, generally, a wheat-growing country[2]; and the reader of the Psalms will readily recall the verse in which the God of Zion is praised for filling her with the finest of the wheat[3]. Sheep too were brought in great quantities up to Jerusalem; on special occasions enormous numbers of them were required in Jerusalem itself for sacrifice; not less than one hundred and twenty thousand were, at the dedication of the temple, offered by king Solomon in the space of seven days[4]; and no more powerful image could be adopted by Ezekiel under which to describe the multitudes by which the waste cities of Judah should in time to come be replenished, than that of the holy flock, the flock of Jerusalem in her solemn feasts[5].

The death of Solomon was speedily followed by the revolt of the ten tribes, and the separation of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. Henceforward, Jerusalem became the capital of the kingdom of the two tribes only: and the resources of its kings were thus greatly crippled. The city itself perhaps somewhat declined in importance: for although the priests and Levites out of all the kingdom of Israel fled from the idolatry of Jeroboam to Judah and Jerusalem, yet it is probable that with the diminution of the kingdom of which Jerusalem was the capital, the population of the city either somewhat decreased or at least remained stationary. This will account for the fact that we do not find records of any extension of the limits of the city for the next two hundred years. The fortifications of Jerusalem had probably been left in a good state by king Solomon, and would not therefore require much

1 Ezek. xxvii. 17.
2 Deut. viii. 8.
3 Psalm cxlvii. 14.
4 1 Kings viii. 63; 2 Chron. vii. 5.
5 Ezek. xxxvi. 38.

outlay on the part of the succeeding monarchs. The resources of these monarchs were required in great measure for the erection of cities of defence on the northern frontier of the kingdom, to protect it against the armies of Israel; of which we have accounts in the notices of the reigns of Rehoboam and of Asa. Whatever money could be spared for the adornment of Jerusalem, was probably laid out in the completion of the wall of the outer court of the temple; which, as is distinctly stated by Josephus, had been left bare by Solomon on the northern, western, and southern sides. The level part of the hill on which the temple stood was enlarged by successive embankments; the northern wall of the enclosure broken through: and although we have no record of the part of the work executed by each successive king, it seems to have been a work of gradual but continual progress. In the words of the historian, long ages were consumed on it, and all the sacred treasures exhausted, though replenished by the tributes offered to God from every region of the world. The language of Josephus would seem to imply that the work was only carried on by means of a special or sacred fund; and probably the kings of Judah who succeeded Solomon were but ill able to afford to spend any of their ordinary revenue upon it.

The Scripture notices of the city of Jerusalem during this period are but few and scanty. In the fifth year of Rehoboam God punished the sins of the nation by delivering the city into the hands of Shishak, king of Egypt, who plundered the temple and the palace of all their treasures, and carried away Solomon's golden shields out of the armoury. The impoverished resources of king Rehoboam replaced these by shields of brass. His son Abijah, principally distinguished by his victory over Jeroboam, dedicated some silver and gold and

vessels unto the Lord, which the next king Asa carried, along with the things that he had himself dedicated, into the Lord's house. Asa himself, however, subsequently plundered these treasures, as well as those of his own palace, in order to bribe Benhadad, king of Syria, to march against Israel.

The prosperity of the days of Solomon returned to some extent in the days of the good king Jehoshaphat, but this prince is not mentioned as having added to the beauty or strength of Jerusalem. He seems to have applied his resources principally to the building of castles and store-cities in the land of Judah[1]. The melancholy reigns of his son and grandson, and the usurpation of his daughter Athaliah, were followed by the accession of the young king Jehoash under the auspices of the high-priest Jehoiada; and in his days was first established a systematic fund for the repair of the temple[2]. This is generally considered to have been the fund to which the poor widow mentioned in the Gospels contributed her two mites[3]. Jehoash himself afterwards plundered the hallowed treasures to bribe Hazael king of Syria to retire from Jerusalem[4]. The king had deserted his God; judgment had fallen upon him; and his whole army had been defeated by a small force of the enemy[5].

The reign of the next king, Amaziah, was a disastrous one for Jerusalem. Amaziah had hired a large army out of the kingdom of Israel to help him in a war against the Edomites; but had afterwards, at a prophetical command, dismissed them. The Israelites were offended; and a war ensued between Judah and Israel. Amaziah, who had been victorious over the

[1] 2 Chron. xvii. 12.
[2] 2 Kings xii. 9; 2 Chron. xxiv. 8.
[3] Mark xii. 42; Luke xxi. 2.
[4] 2 Kings xii. 18.
[5] 2 Chron. xxiv. 23, 24.

Edomites, and had been rendered confident by success, proudly challenged the king of Israel to battle; but meanwhile he had introduced the Edomite idolatry into Judah, and God had in consequence forsaken him. The armies joined battle at Bethshemesh; Amaziah was worsted, and taken captive; and the king of Israel followed up his victory by seizing the spoils of Jerusalem, and by breaking down the city-wall from the gate of Ephraim to the corner-gate, a distance of four hundred cubits[1].

The position of these two gates may be determined at once. The gate of Ephraim was undoubtedly so called, as leading to the tribe of Ephraim; it must therefore have been situate in the north wall of the city. The corner-gate on the other hand must evidently have stood at some remarkable angle in the city-wall; and such an angle is found at the north-west corner of the Upper City. Here then the corner-gate may be fixed, with the gate of Ephraim between six and seven hundred feet to the east of it[2]; a position which, as we shall afterwards see, accords completely with the notices of these gates in the Book of Nehemiah. The north wall was, by nature, the weakest part of the wall of the Upper City, since the encompassing valley was not so deep here as on the other sides; consequently a breach in the wall here was of more consequence than in any other part.

Amaziah's son and successor, Uzziah, seems to have repaired the breaches made in the wall during the

[1] 2 Kings xiv. 8—14. 2 Chron. xxv.

[2] The position I have assigned to the gate of Ephraim accords exactly with the traditionary site of the iron gate, mentioned by Mr Williams, Holy City, II. p. 56. The coincidence, such as it is, is satisfactory; though the tradition can hardly be considered of much value. The corner-gate was probably the same by which water was brought into the tower Hippicus: Jos. B. J. v. 7. 3.

reign of his father. We are told that he "built towers in Jerusalem at the corner-gate, and at the valley-gate, and at the turning of the wall, and fortified them[1]." We know from Josephus, that the whole circuit of the wall was defended by a series of towers; those along the old wall being sixty in number[2]. The towers however mentioned in this verse were probably of a more important character than the rest. The tower at the corner-gate was, without doubt, the same that was rebuilt by Herod under the name Hippicus. The second tower of Uzziah, if we may suppose it to have stood not exactly at the valley-gate, but a little to the west of it, may be the same that is called by Nehemiah the tower of the furnaces[3]. Uzziah's third tower may be possibly identified with the tower of Siloah, or with that of Ophel.

For we are told of Uzziah's successor, Jotham, that "on the wall of Ophel he built much[4];" which seems to imply that somewhat had been done before in the same quarter. The word "ophel" (which is by no means always a proper name, but is used of other places, besides this one at Jerusalem[5]) properly denotes a tower; by usage it came to be the name of this particular fortified outbuilding at Jerusalem, which is constantly mentioned by Josephus under the Greek form of the name Ophla. Allusion is once made to it by the prophet Isaiah[6]. It stood to the south of the temple, at the south-east corner; and though not included in what was strictly the old wall[7], was yet

[1] 2 Chron. xxvi. 9.

[2] Jos. B. J. v. 4. 3.

[3] Neh. iii. 11. [4] 2 Chron. xxvii. 3.

[5] 2 Kings v. 24. Mic. iv. 8. In both these passages the translation "tower" seems quite as suitable as "hill."

[6] Isai. xxxii. 14; "the forts," Eng. Ver.

[7] At least it was excluded by the wall repaired by Nehemiah. Neh. iii. 27.

connected with the city by a wall of its own, which is reckoned as part of the old wall by Josephus[1]. The wall of Ophel was in fact the encompassing wall of a new part of the Lower City; the buildings of Ophel forming the nucleus of the part of the Lower City south of the temple, just as the old stronghold of Zion had formed the nucleus of the part of the Lower City north of the temple. We have seen that at the end of the reign of Solomon the temple was still bare on the south side; but it was probably about this time that the south wall of the outer court was completed, and we now behold either Jotham or his father Uzziah commencing the building of a fresh quarter to the city on that part of the temple-ridge which slopes down from the temple southward. It was intended at first, perhaps, principally as a habitation for the Nethinim[2], who waited upon the Levites in their sacred service; the building of it may be taken as an indication that Jerusalem was now increasing in prosperity; and the good use that king Jotham made of his prosperity is pleasingly illustrated by his erection of the high gate of the temple[3].

To the pious Jotham succeeded the profligate and impious Ahaz, the worst of the descendants of David that ever disgraced the throne of Judah; whose one object it seems to have been to remove whatever had been hallowed by association with the worship of the true God, and to introduce every idolatrous form of worship, and every heathen impurity in its place. Pleased with a heathen altar that he had seen at Damascus, he sent orders to the high-priest Urijah to have

[1] Josephus, speaking of the old wall, says, διῆκον μέχρι χώρου τινός, ὃν καλοῦσιν Ὀφλάν. B. J. v. 4. 2.

[2] Neh. iii. 26.

[3] 2 Kings xv. 35; 2 Chron. xxvii. 3.

one made after the same pattern[1]: and when Urijah, with some sense of decency, had placed the new altar to the east of Solomon's, so that the latter intervened between the new altar and the temple[2], Ahaz removed the old altar and set it on one side, reserving it merely to enquire by. At a later period, Ahaz apostatized from the true God altogether; and adopting the gods of Damascus as his own, he shut up the temple, and made altars in every corner of Jerusalem, and high places in every city of Judah. The hallowed treasures, as well as his private treasures and those of his nobles, were sent as a present to the king of Assyria to induce him to march against Damascus; a commission that Tiglath-pileser was too willing to execute, though he proved rather an oppressor than an ally to the Jews. Besides this, the hallowed vessels were profaned and destroyed, the laver and the molten sea of king Solomon deprived of their supports, and either at the instance, or for fear of the king of Assyria, the temple-court altered and disfigured[3].

Ahaz reigned but sixteen years; and then God raised up to Judah and to Jerusalem a king who was as zealous in the work of reformation as his father had been in the ways of evil. On the accession of Hezekiah the temple was reopened and purified, the altar replaced, the vessels repaired and sanctified; a passover was kept of which there had not been the like since the days of Solomon, the remnant of the ten tribes as well as the children of Judah having been summoned to the feast: and the idolatrous altars in Jerusalem as well as the high places, not only in the cities of Judah

[1] 2 Kings xvi. 10 seqq.

[2] So Lightfoot explains the matter. Prospect of the Temple, cap. xxxiv.

[3] 2 Kings xvi. 17, 18. 2 Chron. xxviii. 21—25.

and Benjamin, but also in those of Ephraim and Manasseh, were overthrown and destroyed[1].

But besides the task of reforming the religion of the nation, Hezekiah had powerful foreign enemies to contend against. The Assyrians, whom Ahaz had called in as his allies against the confederate Syrians and Israelites, had, in the beginning of Hezekiah's reign, put an end to the kingdom of Israel; and in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah[2], Sennacherib, the grandson of the conqueror of Damascus, and the son of the conqueror of Samaria, came up against Judah, to punish the Jewish monarch for his refusal to pay tribute. Hezekiah, seeing that Sennacherib was determined to attack Jerusalem, made the necessary preparations for a siege. As far as the fortifications of the city were concerned, these preparations consisted in "building up the wall that was broken, and raising it up to the towers, and another wall without, and repairing Millo in the city of David," or rather "repairing the Embankment that led to the city of David;" for so the words should be rendered[3]. Besides this Hezekiah made weapons and shields in abundance. But, which was perhaps more important than all, he took measures in concert with his officers, for "stopping the waters of the fountains which were without the city[4]:" and thus, by means of a channel or subterranean aqueduct leading into the city, diverting the supply of water from the besiegers to the besieged. This was doubtless the occasion on which the king "stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David[5]."

[1] 2 Chron. xxix.—xxxi.
[2] 2 Kings xviii. 13. Isai. xxxvi. 1.
[3] 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.
[4] 2 Chron. xxxii. 3.
[5] 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

The account of these preparations in the Book of Chronicles is but short; but we shall find some light thrown upon the subject by a passage in the writings of the cotemporary prophet Isaiah. That the twenty-second chapter of Isaiah is to be referred to this period, is evident from the description given by the prophet of the host that was advancing against Jerusalem[1]; a description which does not agree with any invasion that happened in the days of Isaiah, except that of Sennacherib, whose army was probably composed of warriors out of all the nations that owned his dominion. The particular passage which requires our attention is the following: "And he discovered the covering of Judah, and thou didst look in that day to the armour of the house of the forest. Ye have seen also the breaches of the city of David, that they are many: and ye gathered together the waters of the lower pool. And ye have numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and the houses have ye broken down to fortify the wall. Ye made also a ditch between the two walls for the water of the old pool: but ye have not looked unto the maker thereof, neither had respect unto him that fashioned it long ago[2]." It will be observed, that the preparations to which Isaiah alludes in this passage are precisely those which Hezekiah is described in the Book of Chronicles as making: viz. the strengthening the walls, the providing abundance of arms, and the diverting the course of the water. The censure which Isaiah passes upon the Jews for their trustlessness will appear quite natural when we recollect that even Hezekiah himself did not in the first instance put full faith in God for deliverance, but endeavoured to satisfy Sennacherib with a present of three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold. It was on this occasion that

[1] Isai. xxii. 6, 7. [2] Isai. xxii. 8—11.

Hezekiah, besides taking all the sacred and royal treasures as his predecessors had so often done, cut off the gold from the doors of the temple and from the pillars that he had himself overlaid[1].

The account however of Hezekiah's military preparations for sustaining the siege, is of the very utmost importance for the investigation of the topography of Jerusalem; and it will therefore be necessary for us to spend some time upon it. Let it be first remarked that the passage of Isaiah clearly proves that it was the wall of the City of David—not the Upper City—that Hezekiah repaired and fortified: and it is with the City of David alone therefore that we shall be now concerned. The part of the north wall of the Upper City which had been broken down in the reign of Amaziah more than a hundred years before had in all probability been repaired by Amaziah's successor Uzziah at the time that he built his towers: at any rate it is not likely that it was allowed to continue in ruins during the whole of the prosperous reigns of Uzziah and Jotham; and as the Upper City is not mentioned in the account of the fortifications of Hezekiah, we may reasonably conclude that it was in good repair by that time.

And we may here pause to observe, that as it is the invasion of Sennacherib which Isaiah has mainly in view in the opening of his twenty-ninth chapter, and as it was for the safety of the City of David that Hezekiah principally feared in the event of an attack from the Assyrians, we may thus assume it to be to the City of David that Isaiah alludes when he says "Woe to Ariel, to Ariel, the city where David dwelt!" Indeed a comparison of this verse with the eighth verse of the same chapter will shew, as Vitringa justly remarks, that Ariel is the same with Mount Zion. We

[1] 2 Kings xviii. 14—16.

cannot do better than quote here the excellent argument which Vitringa prefixes to this chapter of Isaiah: "In this chapter the prophet foretells great calamity and distress to Jerusalem, and *more especially to Zion*, the more splendid part of the city, of which he speaks under the mystical name Ariel. The fulfilment of the prophecy would extend over a long period of time, but the commencement of the distress would be felt at the time of Sennacherib's expedition which was shortly to follow. Yet the event would be that the enemies of the Jews, fondly deeming themselves sure of obtaining their object, would find their hopes disappointed by the divine judgment, and would gain no advantage." The etymological meaning and usage of the word *ariel* is a further proof that it applies only to Mount Zion, or to speak more strictly, to the City of David or stronghold of Zion. It signifies "Lion of God," an expression used not only in Hebrew but also in Arabic and Persian to denote a hero: in this sense it is applied in the Books of Samuel to two Moabitish heroes, and is used in another passage by Isaiah of the princes or chief men of Judah[1]. In the passage before us, therefore, it refers without doubt to David, and thence by a figure of speech to the part of the city that was called by his name.

We thus see that this passage, which has been sometimes alleged for the purpose of proving that by the City of David the whole of Jerusalem is to be understood, serves in reality only the more strongly to shew that this expression denotes not the whole, but only a particular portion of the Jewish metropolis. The City of David, in its strict sense, was the old stronghold of Zion, which stood to the north-east of the Upper City, and to the north of the temple, and which

[1] 2 Sam. xxiii. 20; Isai. xxxiii. 7. So Vitringa and Gesenius.

was first connected with the Upper City after the conquest of Jerusalem by King David. It stood, as we have seen, upon the crest of the hill of Zion which has now been cut away; and it therefore occupied, approximately, the north-western part of the present Haram esh-Sherîf. And it is the upper watercourse of Gihon, connected with this City of David, which it must now be our task to trace.

Immediately to the north of the Haram, at its eastern corner, (and consequently in a north-easterly direction from the site of the City of David,) there is a large pool or reservoir, known at the present day by the name Birket es-Serain; probably a mere corruption of Birket Isrâîl, The Pool of Israel. It is, according to Dr Robinson's measurements, 360 feet long from east to west, 130 feet broad from north to south, and 75 feet deep, besides the rubbish which has been accumulating in it for ages[1]. The southern wall "is faced with sharp rough masonry of small pattern similar to Roman curb-stones; but behind this stone-coating, which has crumbled away in many places, is discovered a different plan of building, composed of regular courses of large squared stones, jointed in with much smaller ones[2]." This reservoir was regarded by Dr Robinson as part of the fosse of the fortress Antonia, built by Herod the Great; and it was chiefly on account of the position of this reservoir that he was induced to extend the fortress Antonia along the whole of the north wall of the temple[3]. But all subsequent authors are agreed that to carry the fortress thus far east is contrary to various incidental notices of Josephus; and since many, while rejecting Dr Robinson's theory of the position of Antonia, have still regarded the reservoir as forming part of the

[1] Robinson, Bib. Res. I. p. 434. Engl. Transl.
[2] De Saulcy, Journey, II. p. 318, [3] Robinson, Bib. Res. I. p. 433.

fosse, it has in reality proved rather an encumbrance to their theories than otherwise. It will be shewn hereafter, that the fortress Antonia stood not only to the west of this reservoir, but considerably further south: and if this be admitted, it will then amount to an absolute certainty that the reservoir of which we are now speaking could neither have formed part of the fosse mentioned by Josephus, nor have had any connexion with it.

This is further confirmed by the fact, that in the southern part of the western wall of this pool there are two lofty arches, giving entrance to vaults that extend in side by side under the houses which now cover that part: and it has been ascertained that the more northerly of these two vaults extends to a distance of at least 100 feet, and probably much further[1]. The pool, which is now dry, must evidently have once been a reservoir, supplied with water for which these vaults formed the passage: and in short in this reservoir we may recognize without difficulty the Upper Pool of the Old Testament.

But whence, it may be asked, was the water that supplied this pool derived? The direction of the vaults sufficiently indicates that it came from the west; and the recent researches of Mr Williams and Dr Krafft seem to determine with considerable probability the line which the antient watercourse followed. In the first place, about 500 feet to the west of the Birket es-Serain, and not more than 200 feet to the north of the direct line of the vaults, is a church well known to pilgrims as the traditionary scene of one of the solemn events mentioned in the gospels. Within the precincts of this church is a well of living water which was visited by Mr Williams in 1843; and the following notice of it is

[1] Robinson, Bib. Res. I. p. 434.

extracted from his work[1]. It supplies the Franciscan monastery during the dryest summer; and when in the course of the repairs of the church in front of which it stands, the well had, owing to the immense quantity of water required, been exhausted, it filled itself again in two days, although it was towards the end of the dry season, before any rain had fallen. The cavity in the rock in which the well is, was said to extend some distance east and west: and the water is described by Mr Williams as being remarkably clear, and as having the peculiar taste of the water of the sister-fountains 'Ain Selwân and 'Ain Um ed-Deraj situate in the ridge south of the temple.—Here then we have probably one point in the watercourse that supplied the Upper Pool.

Again, it is mentioned as a common report among the natives at Jerusalem, that "there is a spot near the Damascus gate without the city, where in a still time, by putting the ear near to the ground, the trickling or murmur of a subterranean watercourse can be heard[2]." And Mr Williams has noticed the extraordinary coincidence between this tradition and the account of Aristeas, who was sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus to Jerusalem, B.C. 273, to obtain a copy of the Pentateuch. He relates that at Jerusalem he was taken to a place four stadia outside the city, where, kneeling down, he heard the sound of the meeting of waters. The letter of Aristeas in which this curious notice is contained, is, it is true, generally regarded as spurious; but whoever may be the author of it, the story just mentioned is most likely founded on fact. And Krafft records that the peculiar flavour of the water of the sister-fountains before mentioned is also to be found in a large tank immediately beneath the northern wall, outside the Damascus gate and a little

[1] Holy City, II. p. 461. [2] Robinson, Bibl. Sacra. 1843. p. 28.

to the east of it, called by the Arabs the Cotton Grotto, and believed by them to communicate with the cavity in the Sacred Rock in the Great Mosk in the centre of the Haram[1].

It is only within the last year that this native tradition has been partially verified. A portion of the wall above the Cotton Grotto having given away and broken through the roof of the cave beneath, it was discovered that this grotto was in fact the entrance to an enormous excavation extending in a south-easterly direction under the Muhammedan quarter of the city for a distance of 220 yards. The travellers and residents who have visited it describe it as having the appearance of a vast underground quarry, large enough to have furnished the materials for the building of the temple and walls of Jerusalem. The blocks of stone half hewn that are found throughout it still attest the purpose of the excavation. It varies from twenty to one or two hundred yards in width, and the roof is supported at intervals of about twenty, thirty, or forty yards, by square massive piers of rock of various heights and dimensions that have been left standing. Some of these pillars are decaying at the basement, so that it is possible that parts of the roof may at no distant day give way, and become the tomb of the houses and the people above. "Those portions of the cut away rock," writes one explorer, "which lie exposed to the action of water, were coated over with a thick incrustation of stalactites which shewed the remoteness of the age of the excavation; yet the marks of the chisel on the dry portion of the rock looked as new and fresh as if the workmen had only just retired. We proceeded onwards, encountering in our way only such objects as tended to heighten our curiosity and to excite enquiry,

[1] Krafft, Topogr. p. 131.

such as, why and wherefore were deep niches cut here, and a flight of steps there? Or to what class do those animals belong over whose burrows we were stumbling? Or how and when had the human skeletons that lie on yonder ledge of rock been brought hither? All these gave way to an object of much greater interest, almost affecting. Within a retired solitary place, hidden from the gaze, stood a grey-looking circular basin of about three feet in diameter, scooped out with great regularity in the solid rock, receiving in its bosom the water that was filtering through the sides and the ceiling above. Close to it lie scattered broken pieces of pottery, remains of vessels used for drinking, and which appeared as if they had only just dropped out of the hands of the hurried workmen when coming hither to quench their thirst[1]."

This excavation has probably, till the last year, been concealed from public view since the erection of the present walls of Jerusalem by Sultan Suleimân in the year A.D. 1542. But that it had been open not long before that period is proved by the following exaggerated account of a Jewish traveller from Leghorn in the year A.D. 1523: "Not far from the Bâb el-'Amûd" (or Damascus gate) "is the cave of Zedekiah, which extends underground to the mountains near Jericho. Several persons told me that they themselves walked a mile in the same. It is so spacious that a man on horseback with a lance in his hand can walk through it quite comfortably[2]." Mention is made

[1] This is quoted from a newspaper paragraph copied from the Bristol Times and Journal. I have compared an account by Dr Barclay in Bartlett's Jerusalem Revisited, pp. 161, 162; and have been also favoured with some private information on the subject in a letter from a friend at Jerusalem.

[2] See Schwarz, A descriptive Geography and brief historical Sketch of Palestine, (Philadelphia, 1850.) p. 254.

in the Talmud of the great cavern of Zedekiah, which is doubtless the same with that just described[1].

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the water of Gihon of which we have found traces near the Damascus gate at the northern extremity of the excavation, as also at the church well near the Seraiyah in the direction of which the excavation runs, is conveyed in some way along the cavern itself. Of the formation of the upper watercourse of Gihon we have indeed in the Bible no distinct record; but thus much we may lay down respecting it with a moderate degree of certainty, that it was later than the reign of David and earlier than that of Ahaz; and we shall therefore not be transgressing the bounds of legitimate hypothesis by supposing that it is to Solomon that the formation both of the excavation and conduit is to be ascribed, and that having dug out from this huge quarry the materials for the construction of the temple, he subsequently took advantage of it to convey a channel of water from the fountain of Gihon to the Upper Pool which he made for it on the northern side of his father's city.

It has been denied indeed by Dr Robinson, in the account that he has given of his recent second visit to Jerusalem, that either the water of the tank at the Damascus gate or that of the church well near the Seraiyah is anything more than common rain-water. His experience of the taste of the water thus stands opposed to that of Mr Williams and Dr Krafft, who declare the flavour to be the same as that of the fountains in the ridge south of the temple. Dr Robinson has most justly earned the reputation of a careful and accurate observer: yet in this case, if the circumstances mentioned by Mr Williams in connexion with the church well be correct, they can hardly be explained

[1] Erubin 61. b. (ap. Schwarz.)

except by admitting that it is spring-water with which the well is supplied. And certainly when all the facts of the case are taken into consideration, even should any single portion of the evidence be eventually found to fail, yet it cannot be deemed unreasonable to assume that the water by which the present Birket es-Serain was supplied was conveyed to it from the direction of the Damascus gate. And thus, apart from all direct evidence as to the exact locality of the main spring, there are far better grounds for regarding this as the water of Gihon, and the Birket es-Serain as the Upper Pool, than for applying this latter name, as is too commonly done, to the Birket el-Mamilla on the west side of the city, in connexion with which there is no spring to be found, and where there are no indications that any ever existed.

Moreover the Old Testament itself furnishes us with direct evidence that it is to the north of the Damascus gate that the fountain-head of the water of Gihon is to be sought. The Upper Pool, and the conduit that conveyed the water to it, are first mentioned in the history of the reign of Ahaz, when, at the news of the approach of the confederate armies of Syria and Ephraim, Isaiah had been bidden go forth and meet Ahaz "at the end of the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field[1]." We read of the conduit in almost exactly the same terms when it is said that Rabshakeh and the Assyrian army came and stood by it (that is, encamped by it) in the days of Hezekiah[2]. Now, in describing the wall built by Herod Agrippa round the new part of Jerusalem, Josephus mentions that the corner tower at the north-east of the wall was near the Fuller's Monument[3]; a name which

[1] Isai. vii 3. [2] 2 Kings xviii. 17; Isai. xxxvi. 2.
[3] Jos. B. J. v. 4. 2.

naturally recalls the Fuller's Field of the Old Testament. He further relates that in the siege by Titus, the latter, after having taken the wall of Agrippa, transferred his camp to a place within the wall, styled the camp of the Assyrians, occupying the entire interval as far as the Kedron[1]; and thus we find that tradition preserved, in this same quarter, to the days of Josephus, the site of the encampment of Rabshakeh when he came against the city. All things considered, it seems probable that under the name of the Fuller's Field was included a large portion of the ground bounded on the northern and eastern sides by the Wâdy Yehôshâfât, on the west by a line drawn northward from the modern Damascus gate, and on the south by a line parallel to the northern wall of the modern city; and that the Highway of the Fuller's field was none other than the great North road, which must always have followed nearly the same course as at present, running along the west of the City of David and passing through the site of the present Damascus gate: and since the end of the conduit, and consequently the fountain-head from which the water was derived, was in or near this highway, it is clearly either in the neighbourhood of the Damascus gate, or somewhere nearly due north of this, that we must seek for it.

It was this fountain-head which was the scene of the anointing of king Solomon[2]. And it is remarkable that Adonijah was at the same time inaugurating his usurpation at another fountain—the fountain En-rogel to the south of the city: indeed the Jews have fancied from this account, that it was a rule always to anoint a king near a fountain[3]; a conclusion for which there is no sufficient warrant. It may be observed that the

[1] Jos. B. J. v. 7. 3. [2] 1 Kings i. 38.
[3] See Patrick in loco,

words in which David commissioned Zadok, Nathan, and Benaiah to "bring Solomon down to Gihon," might be more accurately rendered "Bring him down, and then lead him up to Gihon[1]," that is, "Bring him down into the valley (the valley now running southward from the Damascus gate) and then ascend up the valley as far as the fountain:" for David himself was doubtless sitting in his own palace on Mount Zion at the time he gave this direction. Although we speak of the water-course of Gihon, the name Gihon itself is, etymologically, more appropriate to the fountain-head, and it was clearly to this that it was in the first instance applied[2].

With respect to the Upper Pool, we may observe that it was so called, not in contradistinction to the lower pool formed by Hezekiah, for the name Upper Pool was already current in the days of Ahaz[3]; but to distinguish it from the Pool of Solomon, mentioned by Josephus, and of which we shall have to speak hereafter; and also from the Pool of Siloah. It is called by Isaiah in one passage, the old pool[4]. Although it adjoined the City of David, or nearly so, it was without the wall, and therefore open to the enemy; and it was in consequence of this that Hezekiah diverted the course of the water, and formed a new pool for it in the heart of the city. It is possible that the object of Ahaz, when he was met by Isaiah at the fountain-head of the water[5], may have been to plan what Hezekiah afterwards executed: but on this subject we are left to conjecture.

The general course of the new aqueduct of king Hezekiah is indicated in the Scriptural account. It

1 Kings i. 33. הורדתם אתו על-גחון. The Jews, not understanding the true meaning of this, have given in the Keri אל-גחון.

2 גחון from גיח "to burst forth."

3 Isai. vii. 3.

4 Isai. xxii. 11.

5 Isai. vii. 3.

ran along the west side of the City of David. The position also of the new pool, of which all traces have now disappeared, is sufficiently determined by the language of Isaiah, who speaks of the Jews having made "a ditch" (or rather, a pool or reservoir) "between the two walls[1]." The locality described by these words is the Parbar or suburb, which lay to the south of the causeway Millo, and intervened between the temple and Upper City. It is to this same part of Jerusalem, as we shall see, that the narrative of Nehemiah leads us, when in his account of the rebuilding of the walls he speaks of "the pool that was made[2]." Into this pool the water of Gihon henceforth ran, having been probably diverted from the old or upper watercourse at a point not far distant from the church well of which we have before spoken.

And although all traces of the pool described in Scripture, to the south of Millo, have now disappeared, it is a remarkable fact that there still exists immediately to the north of Millo, and adjoining the western Haram wall, a pool or reservoir which, at whatever period it may have been formed, was probably in some way connected with the water of Hezekiah's aqueduct. This pool was first explored and made known by the enterprise of Dr Tobler. It lies immediately under the modern Mehkemeh or Council-chamber, and is called by the Arabs Birket el-Obrât. It measures 83 feet in length from north to south, and 50 feet in breadth: and the entire depth, were the rubbish at the bottom removed, would probably be not less than 24 feet[3]. There appears to be a mention of it in the Itinerary of

[1] Isai. xxii. 11. The word rendered *ditch* is מקוה which only occurs in this passage; it is derived from the Niphal of קוה "to be gathered together," and therefore signifies a reservoir into which water is collected.

[2] Neh. iii. 16.

[3] Tobler, Denkblätter aus Jerusalem, pp. 41—43.

the Bordeaux pilgrim, A.D. 333. And if we may suppose the name Obrât to be merely an Arabic version of the Latin word *operata*, it might be assumed that the appellation was first bestowed upon it by the Latin pilgrims or residents of Constantine's days, who thus identified it as the *piscina operata* or "pool that was made[1]" of the Book of Nehemiah. The remark is not unimportant: for although we cannot accept the identification, yet it shews that there is a probability that the early pilgrims looked for the pool of Hezekiah in this quarter. The disappearance of the true pool of Hezekiah may be readily explained by the immense accumulation of soil and rubbish in this part, partly arising from the ruined materials of the antient city and temple that have been tossed into the valley. Indeed even in the remaining pool the accumulation of rubbish is considerable. But perhaps the true pool of Hezekiah had not entirely vanished in the days of the Bordeaux pilgrim: he speaks of "*two* great pools at the side of the temple, one on the right hand, and the other on the left, constructed by Solomon[2]:" and if we may suppose the right and left to refer to the causeway by which, from the days of David to our own, the temple area has been approached, then the one pool would be the Birket el-Obrât, and the other the pool which we have been discussing.

It seems to have been the new channel of Gihon, which Hezekiah thus formed while preparing to resist the Assyrian invasion, that appropriately served the Psalmist as an image of the divine grace by which that invasion was ultimately discomfited and Jerusalem preserved. "There is a stream, its watercourses shall make

[1] "Piscina quæ grandi opere constructa est." Vulg.

[2] Itin. Burdig. "Sunt in Hierusalem piscinæ magnæ duæ ad latus templi, id est una ad dexteram, alia ad sinistram, quas Solomon fecit."

glad the city of God, the holy place of the tabernacles of the Most High. God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved: God shall help her, and that right early[1]." Almost every verse in the Psalm is singly sufficient to shew that it is to the destruction of the host of Sennacherib that the whole refers.

It would be extremely interesting to be able to find at the present day any indubitable traces of the aqueduct itself which Hezekiah constructed. It has been thought,—and there were certainly fair grounds for the hypothesis,—that the water of the modern bath known as the Hammâm esh-Shefa, or Bath of Healing, is derived from this source. This bath is situate about two hundred feet to the north of the causeway Millo; and it is supplied—in whole or in part—through a deep well, the mouth of which is on a platform, or rather the flat roof of a low building, eighteen or twenty feet above the level of the causeway. It was first explored, though without such satisfactory results as could have been wished, by Mr Wolcott, an American missionary, in 1842; and from the account of his adventure in the Bibliotheca Sacra the following particulars are extracted. The well is rather more than 80 feet deep. The entrance to it is not quite two feet square, and so continues for a few feet; it then suddenly expands, and the remainder of the passage is about twelve feet square. It appeared, so far as Mr Wolcott could judge, to be cut in the solid rock throughout. Several feet above the bottom were four arched recesses in the rock, opposite one another, each about two feet deep, six high, and four wide. A little lower, about ten feet from the bottom of the well, was a doorway in the rock, leading to an arched chamber about fifteen feet in

[1] Psalm xlvi. 4, 5. I have slightly modified the translation; פלג denotes a watercourse.

length, ten in breadth, and three or four feet in height; while on the other side of the well, opposite the doorway, was the channel for the water. The description of this channel is best given in Mr Wolcott's own words. "The entrance of the passage was more than ten feet high. I had just passed into it, when I came to an irregular opening twenty feet high, and perhaps as long and broad. It had once been covered in the direction of the passage with an arch of hewn stone; the lower parts of which remained, though their base was higher than the top of the present water-channel. I climbed up on the right, and looked over the portion of the wall remaining there; but saw here, as above, nothing but the natural rock within which the wall had been laid. Beyond this opening, the passage, which was two or three feet wide, was covered with stones laid transversely leaving it about five feet high. It was not straight, though its general course was direct. The bottom was not flat, but terminated in a groove. The cutting was so uneven as to suggest the thought that advantage might have been taken of a natural seam or fissure in the rock. The covering of the passage was laid without order, with occasional breaches running up three or four feet; and was evidently composed of the ruins of some other structure. There were ordinary hewn stones; and then there was a section of polished marble shafts, half a foot in diameter, some of them square and fluted. In one place the end of a granite column a foot or more in diameter had sunk obliquely into the passage, and at that stage of the water could with difficulty be passed. I came at length to a well or basin and could proceed no further." The length of the passage traversed by Mr Wolcott was 80 feet; but he was unable to ascertain its direction, as he had injured his compass in the descent[1].

[1] Robinson's Bibl. Sacra, 1843, pp. 24—28.

The well of the Hammâm esh-Shefa was again explored in 1846 by Dr Tobler, whose account confirms that of Mr Wolcott. He was fortunately enabled to determine the direction of the channel which his predecessor had traversed: it runs for about two-fifths of the distance in a south-easterly course, and then turns southward. The cavity which arrested Mr Wolcott's progress proved to be only the descent into a lower passage, about three feet below the level of the former. There was less water in the well than on the previous occasion; and Dr Tobler was thus able to proceed along it. The passage ran on however only for a few feet, and then terminated in a deep circular basin. On looking down into the water of the basin, no further passage or gallery was discoverable; though Dr Tobler is not disposed absolutely to deny that a further channel may exist[1].

The latest explorer of the well is Dr Barclay, another American missionary now resident in Jerusalem; but the brief report of his adventure which has appeared in the most recent English account of Jerusalem is much less circumstantial than the narratives of Mr Wolcott and Dr Tobler. He penetrated along the channel to a distance of 104 feet; or in all probability to the same limit which Dr Tobler had previously reached. He denies very positively that the water is derived from Gihon fount or from any other extraneous source. The fountain, he says, "was found to be a mere *well* in the ordinary acceptation of that term, without any exit whatever; and the only object of the passage is to increase guttation, in the direction of the most friable and porous vein of rock, through the internal area from which the water exudes[2]."

[1] Tobler, Denkblätter aus Jerusalem, pp. 73—83.

[2] Bartlett's Jerusalem Revisited, p. 87.

The most remarkable fact connected with the water of this well, and indeed the principal reason for supposing it to be connected with the aqueduct of Gihon, is that its taste (like that of the water of the church well before described) exactly corresponds with that of the fountains in the ridge south of the temple. This was noted not only by Mr Williams, but also by the learned Jewish Rabbi Joseph Schwarz; and a chemical analysis of the two waters gives the same result[1]. And perhaps this circumstance may lead us still to suspect that some communication, as yet undetected, really exists between this well and the other fountains, as well those which lie in a northward as those which lie in a southward direction from it. It appears to be the prevalent belief at Jerusalem that the fountains are in some way connected[2]. Undoubtedly too much dependence must not be placed on mere native traditions of this kind. The people at the Hammâm esh-Shefa declare that the basin at the extremity of the passage in the bottom of the well from which the water boils up is situate immediately under the Sacred Rock in the centre of the Haram. If the basin explored by Dr Tobler be the one of which they speak, it is quite certain that they are much mistaken as to its position: it does not underlie any part of the Haram area, from the western wall of which the Hammâm esh-Shefa is distant 124 feet. But whether or no the well of this bath should prove to be connected in any way with the other fountains of Jerusalem, it seems at any rate to have been to Hezekiah that the later Jews attributed the excavation. The son of Sirach records of Hezekiah "that he fortified his city and brought water into the midst thereof: he digged the hard rock

1 Williams, Holy City, II. p. 461. Schwarz, p. 267. Tobler, Denkblätter, p. 80.

2 Robinson, Bib. Res. I. p. 510.

with iron, and made wells for waters[1]." It is probably the well of the Hammâm esh-Shefa that the writer had in view.

Briefly then to recapitulate: the upper watercourse of Gihon, after traversing the quarry beneath the Third Hill of Jerusalem, the present Muhammedan quarter, ran in an easterly direction along the northern side of the City of David: Hezekiah's new watercourse ran southward along its western side. The former took the course of the valley subsequently filled up by the Asmonæans: the latter, the course of the main valley of Jerusalem. The City of David was but a small fortification; and had most likely been surrounded by houses outside its walls. Now Hezekiah not only repaired the former wall, but also built "another wall without;" and of his son Manasseh we are told that he "built a wall without the city of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even to the entering in at the fish-gate[2]." These new walls of Hezekiah and Manasseh could hardly have been separate and distinct; in all probability Manasseh only completed what his father had begun. In fact we have here an account of an enlargement of the Lower City: the new wall started probably from the north-eastern corner of the old stronghold of Zion, swept round its northern side, and then turned southward, to the west of the new conduit, and so continued till it reached the north wall either of Millo or of the Upper City.

This new wall we may at once identify with the second wall of Josephus. That historian tells us that

[1] Ecclus. xlviii. 17: Ἐξεκίας ὠχύρωσε τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰσήγαγεν εἰς μέσον αὐτῶν τὸν Γώγ· ὤρυξε σιδήρῳ ἀκρότομον, καὶ ᾠκοδόμησε κρήνας εἰς ὕδατα. The word Γώγ is probably either a false reading or another form for Γιών: the Alexandrine MS. reads not Γώγ but ὕδωρ. The word ἀκρότομον refers to the square hewing of the stone.

[2] 2 Chron. xxxii. 5; xxxiii. 14.

in his days Jerusalem was fortified by three walls: of which "the old one was almost impregnable, both on account of the valleys that surrounded it, and also of the hill above them on which it was erected. In addition to the advantages of its position, it had been strongly built; David and Solomon and the kings that followed them having been very zealous about the work. On the north side, beginning at the tower called Hippicus, and extending to what was termed the Xystus, and then joining the Council-chamber, it terminated at the western colonnade of the temple." After describing the other parts of the old wall, the historian proceeds: "The second wall had its beginning at the gate they called Gennath, one of the gates of the first wall; and encircling only the northern part of the town, reached as far as the Antonia." No account is given us by Josephus of the time at which this wall was built; but the third wall, which he goes on to describe, was the work of Herod Agrippa[1].

Now to enter into any laboured proof of the identity of the wall of Hezekiah and Manasseh with the second wall of Josephus seems almost needless; for the historian makes mention of no other wall which can be assigned to these two kings, and conversely we have no record of the erection of any other wall which would answer to that described by Josephus. The respective accounts of the general situation and direction of the two walls exactly coincide; and they both terminated at a gate in the old wall. There is therefore no reasonable ground why we may not regard them as one and the same, and consequently identify the fish-gate of the Old Testament with the gate Gennath, or garden-gate, of Josephus.

The course of Josephus' second wall has of late

[1] Jos. B. J. v. 4. 2.

years formed one of the principal subjects of controversy in the topography of the Holy City. According to one theory, that of Dr Robinson, the garden-gate from which it started has been placed near the tower Hippicus at the *north-western* corner of the Upper City; while on the other hand it is in the *middle* of the northern wall of the Upper City that Mr Williams and Drs Schultz and Krafft agree in conceiving it to have stood.

The former of these theories is in great measure connected with the erroneous view that the Lower City or Akra lay to the north of the Upper; and consequently falls with it. But there are also not wanting arguments derived from incidental notices of Josephus to shew that the whole of the north wall of the Upper City was not covered by the second wall. We find that the Roman general Cestius encamped on the north of the Upper City without being obliged to storm the other wall first: Titus afterwards hoped to attack the Upper City in the same manner: and the sepulchre of the high-priest John of which Josephus makes frequent mention as standing to the north of the Upper City could hardly have been situate within the circuit of the walls of Jerusalem until the erection of the third or Great wall of Herod Agrippa[1].

The theory of Mr Williams is hardly more tenable. He is constrained to admit that according to his view the second wall must have stood on the slope of a hill, the ground ascending from it on the outside. No position could have been worse adapted for defence; and yet the second wall was evidently regarded by the Romans as no contemptible fortification. And the

[1] Jos. B. J. II. 19. 4: v. 6. 2: and for the sepulchre, v. 6. 2; 7. 3; 9. 2; 11. 4. These arguments were adduced by Krafft, Topogr. pp. 25—27.

supposed vestiges of antient masonry by means of which he endeavours to sustain his view have been rejected by his successor Krafft, although the latter draws the course of the wall along the same line[1].

The true course of the wall is that indicated in the Scriptural account. Its point of juncture with the old wall was not at the north-western corner nor in the middle of the northern front, but at the *north-eastern* corner of the Upper City: for it was here, (not to anticipate a discussion which will belong more properly to the account of the rebuilding of the walls by Nehemiah,) at the union of the Upper City with the causeway Millo, that we shall find the fish-gate to have stood. And thus the wall did not cross the north-western ridge or Christian quarter of the modern city, but ran, as the Scriptures represent it, along the valley, encircling the northern part of the Lower City or hill of Zion. The crest of the hill itself was crowned by the interior and older fortifications of the stronghold, or City of David.

The course thus marked out for the wall in Scripture is confirmed by another circumstance implied by Josephus, and to which too little attention has been paid. The length of the second wall was very short in comparison with the length of the two others. It has been well remarked that even the shortness of the description given of the wall by Josephus may be taken as evidence that the wall itself was not long. We have however some more definite data than this on which to proceed. Every one remembers the words of the Psalmist, "Walk about Zion, and go round about her: tell the towers thereof[2]." The historian of the Jewish war relates that, of the towers with which the walls were in his day fortified, the wall of Agrippa had 90,

[1] Krafft, Topogr. p. 29. [2] Psalm xlviii. 12.

the old wall 60, and the middle wall 14. He further tells us that the entire circuit of the city was thirty-three stadia[1]: and that this is not an understatement any one may satisfy himself by measuring any of the recent plans of the antient city. Now the outer wall of the city in Josephus' days included the whole of Agrippa's wall and about four-fifths of the old wall: it therefore contained about 138 towers, which gives less than 150 feet for the average distance between the centres of the towers. And as the middle wall stood in the most disadvantageous position of the three, it cannot be supposed that it was more sparingly fortified than the rest; and therefore as it had only 14 towers, its length (allowing one more interval than the number of towers) cannot have much exceeded 2250 feet. Krafft, who has taken notice of this, draws the line of the wall about 2375 feet in length. But as laid down in Williams' plan it measures 3600 feet; in Schultz' plan 3700 feet; according to Robinson's theory the length must have been between 3600 and 4000 feet; and on Thenius' plan it amounts to nearly 6000 feet.

So far the argument from the number of towers appears quite clear: but then Josephus tells us that the intervals between the towers in the wall of Agrippa were 200 cubits or more than 300 feet; and if this statement were to be admitted as literally correct, it would throw the whole of our previous computation into confusion. But in this case the inaccuracy of Josephus, for such it certainly is, admits of an easy explanation. Although the average distance between the towers was under 150 feet, the intervals were probably not always uniform; and may in some few cases have been as great as 300 feet. We shall find that this was nearly the interval between the corner-towers of

[1] Jos. B. J. v. 4. 3.

the fortress Antonia. And nothing can be more natural than that Josephus, with that love of exaggeration which is his predominant fault, should have recorded the maximum instead of the usual distance: although to an attentive reader, the effect of the exaggeration is to represent the wall as weaker than it really was[1].

The second wall as described by Josephus terminated at the Antonia. In the Biblical account of the wall built by Hezekiah and Manasseh, the eastern termination is less definitely marked. It united probably with the more antient fortifications of the City of David; and these again were doubtless connected by a wall with the temple. But the whole of this part of the city was so much altered in the time of the Maccabees, that we can do little more than speculate on the exact appearance it presented in the days of the monarchy. According to the course that we have marked out for the wall, it must have certainly excluded the hill that we have identified as the Third Hill of Josephus. The Jewish historian, as has been already observed, is not very explicit upon this point; but from the conclusions at which we have arrived it seems to follow that this hill was, like the fourth hill Bezetha, first embraced within the circuit of the city by the wall of Herod Agrippa.

The principal circumstance which has induced most recent scholars to suppose that the second wall stretched considerably farther north is, that in the present city-wall on both sides of the Damascus gate, (called by the Arabs Bâb el-'Amûd or Gate of the Pillar,) there

[1] In this argument from the number of towers I have been anticipated not only by Dr Krafft, but also by Mr Beldam (Italy and the East, II. p. 128). He regards the distance 200 cubits as a misreading for 100; and observes that the latter was in accordance with the Vitruvian rule of fortification. (Vitruv. de Archit. I. 5.)

have been discovered chambers constructed of large bevelled stones, which were probably the guard-houses of an antient gate upon this spot. The bevelled masonry was hastily assumed, with little more than the shadow of a proof, to be an infallible mark of a Jewish origin; and in this instance the assumption was too generally allowed to pass unchallenged. It was accordingly agreed on all sides that the site of the Damascus gate must be identified with the site of one of the gates in the second wall of Josephus. Could it be further maintained that the second wall followed, for any considerable distance on both sides of the gate, the same line as is taken by the city-wall at the present day, there would be far more force in the argument derived from the antient masonry. But in this case the second wall must be supposed to have included the best part of both the Christian and Muhammedan quarters of the existing city. All are agreed that the antient city could not before the time of Agrippa have covered so extensive a space: the previous fortifications enclosed not more than three hills at most. And accordingly in the two principal rival theories that have been put forth upon this subject, a species of topographical torture has been necessarily applied to the line of the antient wall, so as to make it pass through the site of the Damascus gate, and yet exclude either the present Muhammedan or Christian quarter[1].

[1] The one theory is that of Robinson; the other that of Williams and Schultz. Dr Robinson, who takes the hill of the Muhammedan quarter for Bezetha, appears to have felt the difficulty from the first. He therefore offers a choice between two alternatives; and supposes that the wall after running northwards from Hippicus and then sweeping round to the valley in the vicinity of the Damascus gate, "either followed the valley down to the corner of Antonia, or else perhaps took the same direction across the high ground of Bezetha; although the whole of this latter hill certainly was not included by it." Bib. Res. I. p. 462. It is sufficiently clear from

A single glance at the map of Jerusalem will suffice to shew the improbability of either of these theories. The position of the chambers of antient masonry proves that the gate to which they formed the guard-houses must always have faced in the same direction as at the present day; and as the Damascus gate stands exactly in the centre of the valley, it would have been difficult of defence had the wall receded from it down the valley on either side. And a closer examination of the ground on both sides of the gate will shew yet more distinctly that the antient wall must always have run, both in an easterly and westerly direction from the gate, in the same line as at present.

On passing out of the city by the Damascus gate and proceeding eastward for a short distance along the outside of the modern wall, we arrive at the entrance to the vast underground quarry which has been already described, and which has recently attracted so much attention. The rock on which the city-wall stands is here, and for some distance further, high and precipitous, and materially adds to the strength of the fortifications; and it is almost incredible that those who first carried a wall through the site of the present gate should have neglected to make good use of so great an advantage of position. It has been thought indeed, and not without reason, that the hill of this part of the city was once united to the rocky elevation facing it on the north, and that the present cliff is the result of the formation of an artificial passage between the hills. But as it was from these cliffs that the materials of the city and temple were probably derived, the excavation can-

the language of Josephus (B. J. v. 4. 2) that both the hill Bezetha and the fosse that separated it from the Antonia were *entirely* excluded by the second wall. I therefore confine myself to the discussion of the first of Dr Robinson's hypotheses.

not well be referred to any period later than that of Solomon; and the artificial formation of the precipice has therefore no bearing on the question before us. A late lamented traveller, in describing the striking character of this part of the wall, says, "To our own minds the conviction was irresistible on the spot, that this rocky ridge, affording as it does so strong a defensive position, must have been adopted by the builders of the wall[1]." We are therefore justified in saying that the line of the antient must have coincided with that of the modern wall at least as far eastward as the summit of the hill on which the Muhammedan quarter now stands.

Again on the west of the Damascus gate the antient masonry has been actually traced for a distance of three hundred feet; the wall for some extent above its foundation bearing evidence of antiquity, although the Saracens have made grooves in the stones to make them correspond symmetrically with their own workmanship above[2]. From this point it has been proposed to carry the line of the wall suddenly southward, in the direction of the bazaars that separate the Christian and Muhammedan quarters of the modern city. But not a shadow of a reason has been even suggested for which the builders of the wall should have so suddenly deviated from their previous course, and made choice of so extremely disadvantageous a position; for the proposed line runs for the greater part of the distance along the slope of an ascending hill. It is far more natural to suppose that the wall continued from the first to follow nearly the same course as at present, first westward along the bank of a great hollow which is represented in the Ordnance Survey as lying to the north of this

[1] Bartlett's Jerusalem Revisited, p. 184.

[2] Wilson, Lands of the Bible, I. p. 421.

part of the city; then across the point of the ridge which runs in from the north-west, where it would be protected by some strong corner-towers; (it is here that the remains of a large bastion, known by the crusaders as Tancred's tower, and by the present inhabitants as the castle of Goliath, are to be found;) and lastly that from this point it stretched in a southerly or south-easterly direction along the east bank of the upper part of the western valley. And this is confirmed not only by the position of the ruined castle of Goliath, but also by other visible remains. In the angle which the present city-wall makes near the Latin Convent, are still to be traced the vestiges of a wall built of large hewn and bevelled stones; and not far off are some more large bevelled blocks, which with the great amount of foundation rubbish lying within the modern wall at this point, mark this as the site of one of the towers in the antient defences. It has been also noticed that an unusual proportion of stones in the present wall between the north-western corner and the Damascus gate are antient and bevelled[1].

The excessive length of the antient wall, the course of which we have thus determined, and the great space that it must have included, forbid us to identify it with the second wall of Josephus. Nor can it have been any part of this wall which Manasseh built, as recorded in the Second Book of Chronicles, "without the City of David," "in the valley." The present north wall cannot be said to stand in the valley; it merely crosses it. But what account are we then to give of this antient wall? Krafft holds it to have been the third wall of Josephus, which was built by Herod Agrippa[2]: but to

[1] Wolcott in Robinson's Bibl. Sacra, 1843, p. 29.
[2] Krafft, Topographie, p. 40.

this theory there are insuperable objections. The thirty-three stadia at which Josephus estimates the circuit of the whole city, the antient cisterns that cover the ground to the north, and the existing remnants of antient foundations all shew that Agrippa's wall took a far wider sweep. We are thus led to the conclusion that the antient wall which passed through the site of the present Damascus gate is none of those mentioned by Josephus, but that it is to be ascribed in the first instance to Hadrian, and that it formed the northern wall of his new city Ælia.

It is admitted by all that the wall of Hadrian followed nearly the same course as the modern city-wall at the present day. We have mention in the time of Constantine of a Porta Neapolitana, a gate leading to Shechem or Neapolis, the modern Nâblûs[1]; and to this the chambers of antient masonry probably formed the guard-houses; since the present Damascus gate is in fact none other than the gate of the great north road, leading through Nâblûs to Damascus. Nor are there any just grounds for referring the existing remains to a period earlier than that of Hadrian. It can hardly be doubted that his walls were well and solidly built; and I hope in a future chapter more fully to refute the assumption, for it is nothing more, that the bevelled masonry is to be regarded as a distinguishing mark of the early Jewish architecture, and to shew that it cannot be taken as evidence of any very high degree of antiquity.

Besides this, we learn from Alexander Polyhistor, who wrote in the century before the Christian æra, that only certain portions of the walls of Jerusalem were built of polished stone, the greater part of them consisting

[1] Itin. Burdig. in Wesselingii Itinn. p. 594.

merely of rubble[1]: and as those portions which were built of stone must have been principally the parts round the temple, it may be concluded that none of the other parts were composed of stone for any considerable distance. The remains however would tend to shew that the wall that passed through the Damascus gate was built of hewn stone throughout; and it cannot therefore be well referred to any time antecedent to that of Herod.

It is some confirmation of the Hadrianic origin of the wall, the course of which we have been discussing, that neither in the Bible, nor in Josephus, is there mention made of any gate that would at all correspond to the present Damascus gate, the Porta Neapolitana of the days of Constantine. For the gate of Ephraim, which has been sometimes identified with it, stood not in the second but in the old wall; since it is mentioned as early as the reign of Amaziah, more than a hundred years before the time of Hezekiah and Manasseh. Its exact position we have already defined.

Another curious circumstance may be mentioned as illustrating the correctness of the conclusion at which we have arrived respecting this wall. While the modern native report declares that at a spot near the Damascus gate, outside the city, there may be heard the trickling or murmur of a subterranean watercourse, the narrative of Aristeas informs us that the same sound was to be heard more than four stadia outside the city of his day. If we may assume the spot indicated in this narrative to be the same as that to which the modern report refers, it is evident, that there could not in the time of Aristeas, or the author of the letter

[1] Alex. P. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. IX. p. 452 d: ὠκοδομῆσθαι δέ τινα μὲν μέρη τοῦ τείχους ἀπὸ λίθου ξεστοῦ, τὰ δὲ πλείονα ἀπὸ χάλικος.

ascribed to him have been a gate—either standing, or in ruins—on the site of the present Bâb el-'Amûd. But if the correctness of the shorter course that we have marked out for the second wall be admitted, it will be found that the distance from the nearest gate to the spot where the trickling is now to be heard may be well reckoned at about four stadia.

There is only one gate, of the whole number of those of which we have any mention in Scripture, that seems to have stood in the wall of Hezekiah and Manasseh; or rather in the wall that connected this with the temple. It is the gate of Benjamin, frequently spoken of by the prophet Jeremiah—the "high gate of Benjamin which was by the house of the Lord[1]." There is little reason to doubt that it was so called as leading in the direction of the tribe of Benjamin; but as the whole city itself stood within the borders of this tribe, and as the possessions of Benjamin encompassed the city on its north-western, northern, and eastern sides, we can only conclude from this that the gate of Benjamin was not on the south or south-west of the city. But a more definite indication of its position is to be found in the account of the attempted departure of Jeremiah from Jerusalem in the reign of Zedekiah. After the Chaldeans had raised their first siege of the city in consequence of the approach of the Egyptian army, we are told that "Jeremiah went forth out of Jerusalem to go into the land of Benjamin, to separate himself thence in the midst of the people;" but that he was arrested in the gate of Benjamin on the charge of falling away to the Chaldeans[2]. Now Jeremiah's home and estate were at Anathoth[3], the modern 'Anâta, a village

[1] Jer. xx. 2; cf. xxxviii. 7. [2] Jer. xxxvii. 11—13.
[3] Jer. i. 1; xxxii. 6—12.

between three and four miles to the north-east of Jerusalem, the regular road to which starts from the east gate of the modern city: and this would lead us to fix the gate of Benjamin somewhere in the east of the antient city; it probably stood a little to the north of the temple, and in that part of the wall which connected the temple with the City of David. Its proximity to the temple is clearly indicated by one of the passages already quoted. It is consequently employed by the prophet Zechariah to mark the eastern boundary of the north part of the Lower City, when speaking of the restoration of Jerusalem, he foretells that she shall be inhabited in her place, "from Benjamin's gate unto the place of the first gate, unto the corner gate[1]." The corner gate, as we have already seen, stood at the north-western corner of the Upper City: consequently the language of Zechariah denotes the whole extent of Jerusalem from east to west, and the "first gate" must evidently be the point of juncture of the Lower and Upper cities, a point of considerable importance in our future investigations.

This high gate of Benjamin, which probably derived its importance from its proximity to the original palace of David within the stronghold of Zion, and which is mentioned on one occasion as the place where king Zedekiah was sitting[2], seems to have been the gate specially intended by the "gate of the children of the people, whereby the kings of Judah come in, and by the which they go out;" and in which, as well as in the other gates of the city, Jeremiah was on one occasion ordered to stand and proclaim the renewal of God's covenant with those who would hallow the sabbath, and bear no burden through the gates of Jerusalem on that day[3].

[1] Zech. xiv. 10. [2] Jer. xxxviii. 7. [3] Jer. xvii. 19—27.

Before bringing this long discussion respecting the wall of the Lower City to a close, it may be well to remark that we have reduced the limits of the city within a much smaller space than that usually assigned to it. It may be reasonably doubted whether in the days of the monarchy the population of Jerusalem was ever very large except at those periods of the year when all the people out of the country assembled at Jerusalem to keep the three solemn feasts: and an expression in one of the Psalms would lead us to believe that the area of the city was closely covered with houses; "Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together[1]."

The final result of the Assyrian siege of Jerusalem, and the signal way in which on this occasion God arose to judgment to save the meek of the earth, are too well known to be recounted; when He whose tabernacle was in Salem, and dwelling-place in Zion, brake the arrows of the Assyrian bow, the shield, the sword and the battle[2]. The remainder of Hezekiah's reign does not present us with any notice specially bearing on our present subject; yet there are general indications that Jerusalem increased in wealth and renown in consequence of the visible display of the protection of Jehovah[3]. Hezekiah's son Manasseh renewed the idolatry that his father had destroyed—filling even the courts of the temple with altars to the host of heaven[4]. Carried captive to Babylon by the Assyrians as a punishment for his sins, he learnt to humble himself before the God of his fathers and to know the Lord for his God; and God set him once more on his throne in

[1] Psalm cxxii. 3. [2] Psalm lxxvi. [3] 2 Chron. xxxii. 23, 27.
[4] 2 Chron. xxxiii 5.

Jerusalem. He then undertook the completion of the wall of the Lower City of which we have been speaking; and besides this, he "compassed about Ophel and raised it up a very great height[1]." We have already made mention of Ophel, in connection with the reign of Jotham: its wall and fortifications seem to have been completed by Manasseh, nor does any material addition appear to have been afterwards made to the city from the time of Manasseh till the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans.

The next king, Amon, was an idolater; but his reign was short and unimportant. Neither he nor his father were buried in the royal sepulchres, but in the garden of their own house, the garden of Uzza[2], a fact which is well worthy of notice in connection with our present subject. Amon's son, the pious Josiah, purged the city from the monuments of his predecessor's idolatries, and undertook a thorough repair of the temple; a repair which evidently extended to the building itself, as the purchase of hewn stone is expressly mentioned[3]. In his reign we have notice of a "second part" of the city: the prophetess Huldah dwelt in Jerusalem in the "second part[4];" and the prophet Zephaniah, foretelling the siege of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, says "It shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord, that there shall be the noise of a cry from the fishgate, and an howling from the second, and a great crashing from the hills[5]." The "second" may most naturally be understood of that part of the Lower City which had lately been enclosed by Hezekiah and Manasseh. The words of Zephaniah will then refer to the alarm caused by the approach of the Chaldean army from the north; the three successive images not being arranged in such

[1] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14 [2] 2 Kings xxi. 18, 26. [3] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 11.
[4] 2 Kings xxii. 14. [5] Zeph. i. 10.

order as to represent the progress of the army, but rather in the order in which a person in the Upper City would gradually discover the cause for fear. The alarm is first traced to the fish-gate whence the Upper City might expect to be attacked, then to the Lower City north of the fish-gate, the part of Jerusalem which would be the first assaulted; and lastly to the northern hills or high ground whence the Babylonish army might be viewed approaching[1].

The prophetical cry of alarm which Zephaniah had raised was ere long fully borne out by the course of events. Josiah was defeated and slain in an attempt to prevent the passage of the Egyptians through his territory: the Egyptian king Pharaoh Necho became master of Jerusalem, deposed and carried captive Josiah's son Jehoahaz after a brief reign of three months, and set Eliakim, or Jehoiakim, another son of Josiah, on the throne, at the same time rendering the land tributary[2]. Three years later the Egyptians were defeated by Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish on the Euphrates[3]; and were in consequence stript of all their Asiatic possessions. Jerusalem was besieged by the victorious Chaldeans, and taken[4]; the king himself was put in fetters[5], though he was afterwards released; a number of captives were however taken away to Babylon, and a part also of the sacred vessels of the temple were removed[6]. Jehoiakim remained Nebuchadnezzar's servant for three years: at the end of that time he revolted,

[1] The word used is not הרים but גבעות which seems to imply high ground rather than hills rising up suddenly. The Gibeah of Saul and also Gibeon both lay on the hills about 2½ hours north of Jerusalem; and a third city of nearly the same name, Geba, could not have been far distant. Robinson, Bib. Res. II. pp. 114, 138, and notes.

[2] 2 Kings xxiii. 29—35.

[3] As prophesied by Jeremiah xlvi. 1—12.

[4] Dan. i. 1, 2.

[5] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.

[6] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. Dan. i. 2.

and the land was again invaded by bands not only of the Chaldeans, but also of the Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites. We have no historical account of the end of Jehoiakim, but we may well believe that Jeremiah's prophecy respecting him was fulfilled, and that he was "buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem[1]." He was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin. In three months, Jerusalem was again besieged by Nebuchadnezzar: the king surrendered, and he and his nobles and the best of the people to the number of ten thousand were carried captive to Babylon, and the temple plundered of many more of its vessels. Mattaniah, or Zedekiah, a third son of king Josiah, was set on the throne; and for a few years there was a respite. Even during this period, however, all was not quiet: a league had been formed by the surrounding nations for resisting the power of Babylon, and the hopes of the Jews had in consequence been strongly excited[2], although they do not appear to have actually joined the league. But after the Egyptians under Pharaoh Hophra had made another successful campaign in Palestine[3], the Jews decided for revolt; and ambassadors were despatched to Egypt for aid[4]. In consequence of this, the Chaldeans marched against Jerusalem. The siege was raised at the advance of Pharaoh's army[5]; but the Egyptians seem eventually to have retired without hazarding a battle, and the siege of Jerusalem was resumed. The Jews were at last compelled by famine to give over the defence of the city, and fled from it by night; Zedekiah was pursued and overtaken, was blinded, and carried captive to Babylon; while the Chaldeans entered the city without

[1] Jer. xxii. 19.
[2] Jer. xxvii—xxix.
[3] To this campaign Jeremiah refers, chap. xlvii.
[4] Ezek. xvii. 15.
[5] Jer. xxxvii. 5.

resistance. A month after they commenced the work of destruction; the walls were broken down; the temple was consigned to the flames; and the palace and other principal houses shared the fate of the sanctuary. The remnant of the inhabitants, along with all the temple treasures were carried away to Babylon; while the prophet Jeremiah, who had so often warned his countrymen of the impending ruin, was left to mourn over the desolation of the fallen city that had once been full of people.

Computations of the number of persons carried captive at the successive periods of the gradual overthrow of the kingdom are furnished us in the Books of Kings and by the Prophet Jeremiah; but they do not serve to throw much light upon each other, nor does it seem possible to form from them with any tolerable degree of certainty any estimate of the previous population of Jerusalem. In the Second Book of Kings we are told that the whole number of those carried captive along with Jehoiachin, in the eighth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, amounted to ten thousand; of whom seven thousand were trained soldiers, and one thousand craftsmen and smiths. Only the poorest sort of the people were on this occasion left behind[1]. Jeremiah makes no mention of this deportation, but informs us that the number of Jews carried captive by Nebuchadnezzar in the seventh year of his reign, (the last year of king Jehoiakim,) amounted to three thousand and twenty three; the number carried captive from Jerusalem in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, at the period of the destruction of the city, to eight hundred and thirty two; and the remainder of the captives who were carried away five years later, to seven hundred and

[1] 2 Kings xxiv. 14—16.

forty five[1]. The entire number carried captive at these four different periods will thus amount to fourteen thousand six hundred free male adults, or in all nearly sixty thousand persons exclusive of slaves. Only those carried captive at the destruction of the city are stated to have come exclusively from Jerusalem. It is worthy of remark that the number led away during the reigns of Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin was far greater than the number of those who were not carried captive till the end of the reign of Zedekiah. It is therefore from one of the earlier periods that the commencement of the captivity may be legitimately computed; and it could only have been by sufferance that the kingdom of Judah was during the reign of Zedekiah permitted to exist.

Throughout the Jewish captivity the city of Jerusalem lay in ruins. Gedaliah was appointed governor of the Jews that remained in the land, but he dwelt at Mizpah[2]: and after his murder by Ishmael, and the retreat of Johanan with the remnant of the people into Egypt, we have no further account of the condition of the country, till the capture of Babylon by Cyrus and the proclamation for the return of the captives gave the signal for the restoration of the Jewish state[3].

The number of those who returned with Zerubbabel is computed at forty-two thousand exclusive of slaves[4]. The first anxiety of the people was for the rebuilding of the temple and the restoration of the worship of God at Jerusalem; and at the set time for the feast of tabernacles, the first opportunity, probably, that offered, the people "gathered themselves together as one man" to the site of their antient capital[5]. The altar was set

[1] Jer. lii. 28—30. Making a total of exactly 4600.

[2] 2 Kings xxv. 23.

[3] Ezra i. 1—4.

[4] Ezra ii. 64; Neh. vii. 66.

[5] Ezra iii. 1.

up, the feast kept, and the daily sacrifice regularly renewed. Early in the next year the foundations of the temple were laid[1]; but subsequently the enemies of the Jews procured a decree from the Persian monarch for restraining them from the further prosecution of the building; and when, sixteen years after the return, the decree of Cyrus for the building of the temple was renewed by Darius, the zeal of the people had somewhat cooled in the work[2]. The prophets Haggai and Zechariah however, urged them to a sense of their duty[3], and in four years more the temple, including probably the inner court, was completed; and the people were consoled with the assurance that Jerusalem should yet be full of boys and girls playing in her streets[4], although as yet the Holy City could have presented little more than the appearance of a mere village.

Fifty-eight years later, a second caravan of exiles received permission to return to Jerusalem under the command of Ezra, to whom the Persian monarch committed the charge of all the Israelites west of the Euphrates[5]. The sacred vessels that had been carried away by the Babylonians had been restored by Cyrus; and an abundance of freewill offerings for the service of the temple were now permitted to be taken to Jerusalem. The separation of the Jews from the strangers and the putting away of the strange wives were the immediate results of Ezra's arrival. But twelve years more elapsed before the walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt; and it was for the patriotic zeal of Nehemiah that the accomplishment of that task was reserved. In the years 448 and 447, B.C. Megabyzus, a Persian officer who had commanded the royal troops in Egypt, revolted against

[1] Ezra iii. 8. [2] Hagg. i. 2. [3] Ezra vi. 14.
[4] Zech. viii. 5. [5] Ezra vii. 25.

the king Artaxerxes, and raising an army in Syria, twice defeated his sovereign's forces. He afterwards returned to his allegiance and was received again into favour. It is probable that the Jews had suffered during the campaigns; for news was brought to Nehemiah, who was at that time cupbearer to Artaxerxes at Shushan, that his countrymen were in great affliction and reproach, and they appear keenly to have felt the unwalled condition of Jerusalem. Nehemiah betrayed his sympathy for his country in the royal presence; and on being interrogated by the king as to the cause of his melancholy, he asked that "he might be sent unto the city of his fathers' sepulchres, to build it." The request was granted,—partly, perhaps, at the intercession of Queen Esther,—and Nehemiah arrived at Jerusalem with full powers to fortify the city, and with letters to the keeper of the king's forest to furnish a supply of timber for the purpose[1]. As mention was made in these letters of a house for Nehemiah himself[2], it is clear that he had been duly appointed governor, a title which is subsequently distinctly applied to him[3].

Soon after his arrival Nehemiah privately made a night survey of the ruined walls; and having thus ascertained for himself the necessity that existed for their repair, he informed the Jews of his commission, and proposed that they should build up the defences of the city. The work was entered upon in a religious spirit, and was regarded as a direct service to the Lord. Nehemiah has himself left us a detailed catalogue of the builders of the successive portions of the wall: and as he has thus furnished us with one of the most important documents we possess for the investigation of the topography of Jerusalem, we shall embrace the

[1] Neh. i. ii. [2] Neh. ii. 8. [3] Neh. viii. 9; x. 1; xii. 26.

opportunity of accompanying him round the entire circuit of the fortifications, and so taking a full survey of the Holy City.

It is to the Upper City and temple that our attention will here be confined. There was no occasion to include a wider space within the new fortifications than could well be helped. The population of Jerusalem was so small, that when the walls were completed, one out of ten of the people from the country was chosen by lot to dwell in the city, in order that the number of inhabitants might be adequate to the maintenance and defence of the place[1]. The old stronghold of Zion therefore, to the north of the temple, along with all the part enclosed by the walls of Hezekiah and Manasseh, would naturally be left in ruins for the present. We still read, it is true, of a second part of the city[2], but it cannot be reasonably argued that this was necessarily the same with the part called by that name before the captivity, when, as we have seen, even the name Zion was used in its old sense no more. In the next place, it is clear that the walls of the Upper City were either merely repaired, or else rebuilt upon the old foundations. And as the description of Nehemiah ends at the same point of the wall, from which it starts, it may be presumed, in the absence of any reasonable ground to the contrary, that he follows the course of the wall regularly round. For the most part, indeed, it is distinctly implied that the parts successively mentioned adjoined the parts noticed next before. This is not however asserted with respect to any of the gates, nor with respect to the parts repaired by Palal or the Nethinim[3]. Yet as the description shews that the dung-gate[4] was contiguous to

[1] Neb. xi. 1.

[2] Neb. xi. 9: "Judah the son of Senuah was over the second city." (העיר משנה).

[3] Neb. iii. 25, 26.

[4] Neb. iii. 14.

the part mentioned in the preceding verse, even although the phrase "after him" or "next unto him" is not used, we need not suppose that there is *necessarily* any break of continuity at the other gates. On the other hand that there is some break between the parts described in the 24th and 25th, as also between those described in the 25th and 26th verses, seems highly probable.

The description commences with the sheep-gate. This gate was built by the high-priest Eliashib with the other priests, and, along with part of the wall as far as the tower of Hananeel, was sanctified[1]. It may be concluded therefore that this was part of the wall of the outer court of the temple; and I identify the sheep-gate with the north gate of the temple enclosure. It was probably by this gate that sheep were brought into the temple for sacrifice. Not only was it conveniently situate for flocks coming from the pasture lands of Gilead and Bashan, but also the internal arrangements of the temple seem to indicate that the animals were brought in from the north; and as two lambs were sacrificed every day[2], besides those offered on festival occasions, a large supply must have been regularly required. The towers of Meah and Hananeel, of which the latter stood at the north-west corner of the temple court, must have occupied the same positions as the two southern towers of the subsequent fortress Antonia.

The part built by the men of Jericho and by Zaccur must have been the north wall of Millo, stretching westward from the temple. Next comes the fish-gate, which, Jerome tells us[3], led to Diospolis (Lod[4]) and

[1] Neh. iii. 1.

[2] Numb. xxviii. 3.

[3] Hieron. vi. p. 684. ed. Vallars.

[4] In the New Testament, Lydda. The Jewish towns are best designated by their Hebrew names. This is one of the many instances in which the Greeks replaced the full *u* or *o* not by their *ov* which would have represented the sound, but by

Joppa (Japho). Yet we can hardly treat this statement as more than a mere guess, formed under the notion that it was by this gate that fish was brought from the sea coast into Jerusalem. This could only have been the case if the other gates along the northern brow of the Upper City were too steep for ordinary use. The parts repaired by Meremoth, Meshullam, Zadok, and the Tekoites, stretched probably from the fish-gate southwards on to that part of the east wall of the Upper City which faced Millo. And here, without doubt, was the "middle gate" in which the princes of the king of Babylon sat after the capture of the city[1]. For we learn from Josephus that the Upper City was completely encircled by a wall of its own; and the existence of a gate leading from it on to Millo would thus have been a matter of certainty, even had no mention been made of it.

We here return to the northern wall of the Upper City. The old gate[2] may be supposed to have stood at its eastern extremity, and to have been identical with the "first gate" of Zechariah[3], and thus to have marked the point of juncture of the Jebusite city and of the enlargement of the city by David. The contiguity of the old gate and fish-gate need excite no surprise, if the former were of Canaanitish, the latter of Davidic origin. Passing on, we read that the Gibeonites repaired the wall unto the throne of the governor on this side the river[4]. This was the site that Nehemiah had selected

their *υ*, which in the antient language was pronounced like the French u or German ü, and has now degenerated into an equivalent for *ι*. In the western languages this is represented by *y*. Other instances are Βήρυτος (Beirût) Τύρος (Heb. Tsur) Ἰταβύριον (Tabor) Ἀσσυρία (Assur) Ἄβυδος (Copt. Ebôt) Αἴγυπτος (Copt. Copt or Gupt.)

[1] Jer. xxxix. 3.

[2] Neh. iii. 6. שער הישנה. The word שער is used feminine also in Isaiah xiv. 31.

[3] Zech. xiv. 10.

[4] i. e. the Euphrates.

for his own residence. It seems to have remained government property ever after, for it was in this part that the palace of Herod the Great was subsequently built. Two more persons are mentioned as repairing the wall beyond this spot; and then we are told that "they left Jerusalem unto the broad wall;" for such is the correct rendering of the Hebrew words. As it can hardly be supposed that the Jews would leave any part of the wall unrepaired, we must understand these words to refer to the Chaldeans, who had, in the destruction of the city, left this part of the wall standing. Here then we have a gap in the description of the circuit of the wall of the Upper City.

Fortunately this gap is exactly supplied by a previous notice of the destruction of this part of the wall by Jehoash king of Israel[1], which enabled us to fix the gate of Ephraim in the middle of the north wall, and the corner-gate at the north-western corner. Neither of these gates are mentioned by Nehemiah in the chapter before us; and the coincidence is therefore complete. It is evident that neither of these gates had been destroyed by the Chaldeans; and in perfect accordance with this is the language of Zechariah, who foretold that Jerusalem should be "inhabited in her place, from Benjamin's gate unto the place of the first gate, unto the corner gate[2]:" the "first gate" had been laid in ruins, and its site only could be mentioned; but the corner-gate, and as we must conclude, Benjamin's gate also, had been left standing[3].

It has been already remarked that at the corner-gate Uzziah built the tower which Herod afterwards reconstructed under the name Hippicus. It is from this tower that Josephus commences his description of

[1] 2 Kings xiv. 13.

[2] Zech. xiv. 10.

[3] This remark I owe to Hengstenberg's Christology in loco.

the walls; and it will be useful to compare his account of the old wall with the enumeration of its successive parts in the present chapter of Nehemiah. Of the northern part of the old wall Josephus tells us that it began at Hippicus, extended to what was termed the Xystus, then formed a junction with the council-chamber, and terminated at the western colonnade of the temple[1]. Neither the Xystus nor the council-chamber existed in Nehemiah's day. The former, as we shall see, was probably the work of Herod; respecting the latter we have no further information: though a comparison of the passages before us shews, as has been already observed, that it must either have stood upon the embankment Millo, or adjoined it. It is sufficiently clear, from the description of Josephus, that the old wall ran nearly in a straight line from Hippicus to the temple; and in this respect it differed from the second wall which took a circular course. We have traced the wall of Nehemiah in a moderately straight course from the north-western corner of the temple to the corner-gate, where the tower Hippicus stood. The Biblical account and that of Josephus, are thus, up to this point, in perfect agreement with each other.

The next portion of the fortifications mentioned by Nehemiah is the "broad wall;" but it is not clear whether it is included in what was left standing by the Chaldeans, or whether it is the part next beyond; nor do we know on which side of the corner-gate it was situate. The term *broad* refers to its thickness: Jeremiah speaks of the broad walls of Babylon[2], which, as we learn from Herodotus, were 50 royal cubits, or rather more than 85 feet thick[3]. The broad wall of Jerusalem may either have stood on the north of the

[1] Jos. B. J. v. 4. 2. [2] Jer. li. 58. [3] Herod. i. 178.

Upper City, where the exterior valley was less deep than in other parts, and where Herod afterwards raised his three towers to add to the strength of the fortifications; or, it may have stretched down southward from the corner-gate, along the western brow of the Upper City. The balance of probabilities is perhaps in favour of the latter position. This western wall must have run on in a straight line for a considerable distance. Traces of the foundation of an old wall have been discovered both outside and inside the modern enclosure in this part[1]. The antient wall included also all the southern part of the hill which lies outside the modern enclosure; and its approximate course may be determined by the scarped rock at the ruins known as the Baths of Tiberias.

Nehemiah's account of the repairs of this part of the wall contains little that is worthy of note, till we come in the eleventh verse to the towers of the furnaces, and in the next verse but one to the valley-gate; and, at the distance of a thousand cubits from this, to the dung-gate. The valley-gate we know to have been opposite the dragon-well[2]. The nature of the ground renders it probable that there was no gate leading either westward or due southward from the Upper City; and as there is no fountain with which to identify the dragon-well except the modern 'Ain Selwân, we may place the valley-gate on the south-eastern brow of the Upper City so as to face in the requisite direction. The valley-gate would thus form the ordinary exit from the Upper City into the Valley of Hinnom; and it must therefore be regarded as the same with the pottery-gate of the Book of Jeremiah[3]. If the tower of the furnaces

[1] Robinson, Biblical Res. I. p. 459.

[2] Neh. ii. 13.

[3] Jer. xix. 2. שער החרסות. Our English version adopts the Keri חרסית and translates "east gate."

be the same with that which king Uzziah built near the valley-gate, the interval between them could not be great; and the tower probably derived its name from the furnaces belonging to the pottery in the neighbourhood. It was here that Jeremiah was bidden watch the potter moulding his clay, and was thus typically taught God's absolute power in disposing of nations; and it was in the same place that by breaking one of the potter's earthen bottles he proclaimed to the chiefs of the people and priests the desolation that their sins had provoked God to bring upon Jerusalem[1].

We have thus followed the course of the wall round the northern, western, and southern brow of the Upper City; and the question now arises, at what point did the southern portion of the old wall cross the main valley that divides the two hills of Jerusalem? For although the Upper City, as is distinctly stated by Josephus, was entirely enclosed by a wall of its own, and although, as we shall see, it is northward along the eastern wall of the Upper City that the ensuing portion of the description of Nehemiah will mainly lead us, still there can be no doubt that from a very early period the valley that divided the Upper City from the temple must have been protected by a wall to the south. By some it has been thought, that the wall ran nearly in a direct line from the southernmost point of the western to the southernmost point of the eastern hill, so as to include the whole of the intervening valley to its very mouth. Others have conceived that the wall crossed the valley in antient times in the same place as at present, not more than three hundred feet to the south of the southern boundary of the Haram esh-Sherîf. A third opinion is that of those who carry the wall across the valley at some intermediate point.

[1] Jer. xviii. xix.

In deciding this question the character of the valley to the south of the modern wall should be taken into consideration. Its width immediately outside the present wall may be estimated at about 650 feet; but its limits can not be very clearly defined in this part, as the eastern ridge rises only to a very inconsiderable height above it. The valley expands as it runs southward, and its breadth is greatly increased by a tributary valley that runs in from the west, so that in its broadest part it measures from east to west as much as 900 feet. But after this the two ridges again converge, and at the fountain 'Ain Selwân their bases are not more than 150 feet asunder. Now it can hardly be thought that the wall would have crossed the valley just in its broadest part; and we may therefore safely assume that either the whole of the valley was included within the antient limits of the city, or that else the course of the wall across the valley was the same as at present.

There are many objections to the former view. Although the bases of the two ridges approach very near to each other at the mouth of the valley, yet their respective summits, or rather their crests, are very far asunder; the long descent of the wall down the slope of the western hill would be ill adapted for defence; and it would not be easy to justify the statement of Josephus that the old wall (of which he must certainly have reckoned this as a portion) was almost impregnable. To this it may be added, that in spite of the most diligent search no traces of walls have been discovered in the lower part of the valley[1]. Indeed the only object of interest which the explorers of the part of the valley outside the modern wall have brought to light is the mouth of a large sewer about a hundred paces to the

[1] See the report of Gadow, Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, III. p. 40.

south of the Moors' gate. The course of the sewer has been traced northwards into the city, and there was formerly an opening into it at the north-western corner of the Moors' quarter[1]; but this has been now closed in consequence of the insurgent peasantry having penetrated into the city by this passage in the year 1834. The sewer is now dry. It can hardly be supposed that when it served as a drain it would ever have emptied itself within the limits of the city: but as its antiquity is a matter of doubt, and as the present opening does not appear to be its original mouth, we should scarcely be justified in adducing it as evidence with regard to the position of the antient wall.

The other circumstances however to which we have adverted render it sufficiently probable that the wall in antient times crossed the valley in the same place as at present. The descent into the valley is there not nearly so great as at 'Ain Selwân; and the strength of the wall evidently lay in this, that the besiegers advancing up the valley to attack it would have been exposed to a shower of missiles from the heights on either side. And accordingly we never once read of Jerusalem being attacked from the south. Our view is strikingly confirmed by the language of Tacitus. He says that the walls of Jerusalem had in some parts been rendered artificially oblique, in others they receded with an inward curvature, so that the flanks of the assailants might lie open to the darts of the defenders[2]. The inward curvature of which he speaks can only refer to the bosom or gulf which was formed by the southern wall in consequence of its crossing the valley at so high a point. It may be further observed that the ground

[1] Tobler, Topographie, I. p. 91. Its course is very incorrectly marked in the Ordnance Survey; at least if this be the drain there intended.

[2] Tac. Hist. v. 11: quoted above, p. 33, note 1.

within that part of the wall that runs across the valley is at the present day very greatly higher than the ground outside. The difference of level varies from twenty-five to forty-five feet. It has been stated on the authority of the Ordnance Survey that this is owing to the existence of an immense precipice of solid rock; and that the builders of the lower part of the fortification have done no more than merely face this precipice with masonry[1]. If this can be clearly established, it will furnish a very strong corroborative proof that the wall has in every age crossed the valley at the same place. But it would be premature, perhaps rash, to press the point at present; nor is it at all essential to our argument. The assertion has not as yet obtained any general acceptance; and it has been usually assumed, not without good reason, that the difference of level arises from mere accumulation of soil.

Modern tradition has identified the present Moors' gate with the dung-gate of Nehemiah; so much so, that the latter is the current name of the gate among the Franks of the present day. No weight can be attached to the popular nomenclature; yet in this instance the originators of the tradition are substantially correct. The name *dung-gate* has been shewn by Rabbi Joseph Schwarz to be a mistranslation of the Hebrew; it should be *cheese-gate:* the word rendered dung in the Book of Nehemiah is translated cheese in the Second Book of Samuel[2]. The gate is thus at once

[1] Williams, Memoir, pp. 40, 41. Col. Alderson merely says that the wall of Jerusalem is *built on the solid rock.* Professional Papers of Corps of Royal Engineers, VII. p. 46.

[2] Schwarz, A Descriptive Geography, &c. p. 242. The gate is in Nehemiah ii. 13, iii. 14, called שער האשפת; but in Neh. iii. 13, שער השפת. For the word שפות cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 29. The אשפת of 1 Sam. ii. 8, Psalm cxiii. 7, which occurs in an anomalous plural form אשפתות in Lam. iv. 5, is no doubt of entirely different etymology.

connected with the Valley of Cheesemakers of Josephus; and as this was the valley which separated the two hills of the city, the gate may be assumed to have led out directly from it. From its position it may be further identified with the "gate betwixt the two walls" of the Book of Jeremiah[1]: and the designation "cheese-gate" was probably not bestowed upon it till after the return from the captivity, when the cheesemakers first settled in the valley that received its name from them. And our view respecting the positions of the valley-gate and cheese-gate is confirmed by the fact that the distance between them would thus nearly coincide with the thousand cubits specified by Nehemiah. Next to the cheese-gate comes the gate of the fountain. We have no account of the repairing of any portion of the wall between them: and this may be explained by supposing that Nehemiah, having followed the course of the southern wall half across the valley as far as the cheese-gate, now passes to the interior wall running northward along the eastern brow of the Upper City, and that the fountain-gate marks the commencement of this portion of the fortifications.

The verb שפח, from which it is derived, signifies *to put:* it is twice used of setting a pot on the fire, and once of interring a body, Psalm xxii. 15: "Into the dust of death (in the sepulchre) Thou wilt put me." (So Gesenius). I would therefore render the substantive *a sepulchre*. In the two passages in which the word occurs in the singular, "He raiseth the needy from the sepulchre" is quite as forcible as "He lifteth them from the dunghill:" and in the Book of Lamentations, the rendering "They that were brought up in scarlet embrace sepulchres," besides being countenanced by the parallel passage in Job xxiv. 8, "They embrace the rock for want of a shelter," would exactly describe what no doubt actually occurred after the destruction of Jerusalem, when many of the former inhabitants took up their abode in the rock-hewn sepulchres in the neighbourhood. Neither the Syriac nor the Arabic translator of Nehemiah were content with the rendering "dung-gate;" cf. J. D. Michaelis, Supplementa, No. 187.

[1] Jer. xxxix. 4.

Before proceeding further, I shall introduce the remainder of Josephus' description of the old wall. He tells us that "on the west, beginning from the aforementioned tower Hippicus, it extended through the place called Bethso to the gate of the Essenes, and then on the south turned round so as to pass the fountain of Siloah, and thence bent forth again on the east to the Pool of Solomon, and reaching as far as a certain place called Ophel joined the eastern colonnade of the temple[1]." This description is sufficiently simple, and will be found to harmonize most completely with the Scriptural account, if only the distinction between the western, southern and eastern portions of the wall be rightly understood. The general course of this portion of the wall was in Josephus' day, and perhaps also during the later period of the monarchy, such as to encircle in turn on the southern side each of the two hills of Jerusalem. It must therefore have run successively southward, eastward, and northward round the southern part of the Upper City, then eastward across the valley, and lastly have bent southward, eastward, and northward round the Lower City. Now the central piece of the wall, which ran across the valley, is what Josephus calls its southern part; and we must consequently by the western and eastern parts understand the whole of the southern fortifications of the western and eastern hills respectively.

It is to be regretted that we have no other mention either of Bethso or of the gate of the Essenes. The etymology and meaning of the former word is very obscure; but the gate, since it marks the termination of the wall on the west (i.e. of the wall of the western

[1] Jos. B. J. v. 4. 2. It hardly requires proof that the expressions *πρὸς δύσιν, πρὸς νότον, πρὸς ἀνατολήν*, cannot be interpreted of the *direction* in which the wall ran.

hill), may be readily identified with the fountain-gate of Nehemiah. Here the wall turned and ran past the fountain of Siloah; and it must evidently have been from this fountain that the gate was named; since the repairer of the gate repaired also "the wall of the pool of Siloah by the king's garden, and unto the stairs that go down from the city of David." These last were, as we have already seen, identical, at least in position, with Solomon's ascent into the house of the Lord.

We have now arrived at that point where it becomes necessary that the exact position of the fountain Siloah should be accurately fixed; and I feel that I have here one of the most difficult parts of my task before me; for the fountain known in modern times by that name has been by travellers so universally regarded as corresponding to the antient Siloah, and even apart from all traditionary evidence the identification is so natural, and has at first sight so much to be said in its favour, that I can hardly hope to obtain immediate acceptance for the view that I am about to present. Yet I have carefully, repeatedly, and maturely weighed the subject; and after each fresh scrutiny have found the arguments against the identity of the modern 'Ain Selwân with the Jewish Siloah irresistible. The assailant of the popular tradition may console himself with the thought that he is not guilty of the presumption of being the first to question their identity. He may at least rejoice to find himself in the company of such scholars as Reland and Gesenius: and however different may be the grounds on which they and others with them have placed Siloah on the south-west of the city, from those on which I am disposed to seek it north of the present 'Ain Selwân, and higher up the valley, I shall yet claim the sanction of their authority for maintaining that the

general consent of travellers and natives ought not to be regarded as conclusive evidence on the subject.

That the present 'Ain Selwân was held to be the true Siloah as early as the fourth century, admits, it is true, of no dispute. On this point the testimony of Jerome must be admitted as decisive[1]. Yet if all Christian natives, pilgrims, and travellers, from that period to the present, have been mistaken in respect of the hill of Zion, they may also have been mistaken in respect of the fountain of Siloah; those who have erred in the more important point of Jewish topography, may have erred also in the less important: and if, as its position renders probable, the true Siloah was buried in the overthrow of the city by the Romans, it is so entirely consonant with what we might expect, that the Christians of the fourth century should in their newly awakened antiquarian zeal have bestowed the name Siloah upon the still existing fountain, which was situate in the same valley as the true Siloah, and which in some respects fairly corresponds to the notices of Josephus, that it becomes impossible to attach much value to the traditionary belief.

The description of the fountain now known as 'Ain Selwân may be found in every account of Jerusalem. Its place is in the western side, but almost at the southernmost point of the temple-hill. The water flows out of a small artificial basin under the cliff, and is immediately received into a larger tank fifty-three feet in length by eighteen feet in width, and nineteen feet deep. Out of this the water passes, through a rocky channel, to irrigate the gardens beneath; but a little to

[1] Hieron. Opp. IV. p. 119, ed. Vallars. "Ad radices montis Sion:" (the modern Zion). Also VII. p. 62. "Idolum Baal fuisse juxta Jerusalem ad radices montis Moria, in quibus Siloe fluit, non semel legimus. Hæc vallis et parvi campi planities irrigua erat et nemorosa, &c."

the east there must to all appearance have existed formerly a much larger reservoir than the present. Travellers of the sixteenth century speak of a pool in this position, of about half an acre in extent; but even in their age it was already dry. The small upper basin or fountain in the rock has been proved by Robinson and Tobler to form the termination of a long winding subterranean channel by which the water is conveyed from a fountain in the eastern side of the ridge, called by the Arabs 'Ain Um ed-Deraj, and by the Franks the Fountain of the Virgin. The irregular flow of the water was remarked in Jerome's time; and has been confirmed by recent travellers.

Now if we have up to this point correctly traced the course of the wall described by Nehemiah (and the proof of our correctness lies in the general coincidence of the whole of our conclusions with what we know of Jerusalem and its walls from other sources) it is clear that the present 'Ain Selwân (which Arabic title I shall for convenience' sake employ to designate the *traditionary* Siloah) is none other than the dragon-well of Scripture. The origin and the meaning of the latter appellation have been disputed; but as the popular legends have deeply influenced the nomenclature of every age, it may be not unworthy of remark that the Arabs of the present day ascribe the irregular flow of the water to the presence of a dragon within the fountain[1]. The same fountain would hardly have been currently known by two different names; and the valley-gate and the pool of Siloah are separated by too wide an interval in the catalogue of Nehemiah for us to suppose that the dragon-well, which faced the valley-

[1] Robinson and Schultz relate this of the Fountain of the Virgin; but the Arabs are aware of the connexion of the two fountains, and probably ascribe the irregular flow of 'Ain Selwân to the same cause.

gate, was contiguous to the pool. Indeed the notices of the dragon-well and the fountain-gate in the previous chapter of Nehemiah prove that the former could not have been the same with the fountain of Siloah, from which the fountain-gate was undoubtedly named. It follows, that the true fountain of Siloah cannot be the modern 'Ain Selwân.

Again, in the catalogue of Nehemiah the building of the fountain-gate and the repairing of the wall of the pool of Siloah and of the whole wall from this point to the stairs of the City of David are all ascribed to a single person[1]; the interval between them could not therefore well be great; and 'Ain Selwân is thus too far distant from the known position of the stairs to allow us to identify it with the fountain of Siloah.

Again, we are told by Josephus that the wall on the south turned round so as to pass the fountain of Siloah, and that thence it bent forth again on the east to the Pool of Solomon. Now the Pool of Solomon must be identified either with the tank of 'Ain Selwân, or, more probably, with the larger reservoir that has now disappeared: in either case, the wall cannot have "bent forth" between these reservoirs and the fountain that adjoined and supplied them. No connexion of position can therefore subsist between the fountain of Siloah and the Pool of Solomon, and the former must be placed near the wall in an earlier part of its course. It should not indeed be concealed, that the Pool of Solomon has been identified by some with the Fountain of the Virgin. But this view has since been sufficiently refuted: the Fountain of the Virgin is certainly not a pool, and the historian who should speak of it as a pool, would hardly describe the water of Selwân as a fountain[2].

[1] Neh. iii. 15.

[2] Williams, Memoir, p. 81.

Nor again could Josephus have said that the southern part of the wall *passed by* 'Ain Selwân[1]. For we have already seen that by the southern part of the wall is to be understood that part which crossed the valley, and that this coincided in position with the corresponding part of the modern wall; and the phrase "bending forth[2]" admirably expresses the sharp turn which the wall made in a southward direction, after crossing the valley, for the purpose of encircling the brow of the eastern ridge. The wall evidently crossed the valley very far to the north of 'Ain Selwân.

Another passage of Josephus is still more decisive on the point in question. In describing the parts of the city occupied during the siege by the rival parties of John and Simon, he speaks of the part of the old wall, which bending from Siloah to the east, *descended* as far as the hall of Monobazus[3]. Now in no direction whatever could the wall have *descended* either from 'Ain Selwân itself, or from the point of the ridge immediately above it. That point is the southernmost, and by consequence the lowest point of the ridge. Indeed it was probably on this headland that the hall of Monobazus itself stood; and the wall thus sloped down to it along the whole of the western brow of this southern declivity of the temple-hill.

Nor must we disregard the evidence furnished us by the Scriptures that the fountain of Siloah stood within the walls of the city. This seems to be sufficiently established by the very fact of a wall being built round its pool, as recorded by Nehemiah. Another passage of Scripture leads to the same conclusion. In

[1] *ὑπὲρ τὴν Σιλωὰμ ἐπιστρέφον πηγήν.* The preposition *ὑπὲρ* with an accusative implies motion past or beyond a place.

[2] *ἐκκλίνον.*

[3] Jos. B. J. v. 6. 1. *ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς Σιλωᾶς ἀνακάμπτον εἰς ἀνατολήν, ὃ μέχρι τῆς Μονοβάζου κατέβαινεν αὐλῆς.*

the well-known prophecy of Isaiah delivered in the reign of Ahaz, at the time of the threatened invasion of the confederate kings of Israel and Syria, the Jews are reproved for refusing the waters of Siloah that go softly, and rejoicing in Rezin and Remaliah's son ; and it is foretold that the Lord will in consequence bring upon them the waters of the river, strong and many, even the king of Assyria[1]. The true force of this passage was correctly unfolded by the careful and penetrating eye of Vitringa, although the learned commentator laboured under the disadvantage of a total misconception of the topography of Jerusalem. By the softly going water of Siloah is signified the kingdom of Jehovah as represented under the system of the Jewish theocracy by the divinely established dominion of the house of David ; while the foe of God's kingdom, the great world-power of which the king of Assyria was so signal a type, is compared to the mighty overflowing stream of the Euphrates. It is evident that there was at this time a party among the Jews who were disaffected to the throne, and in whose eyes the personal vices of the reigning monarch had obscured the divine legitimacy of his government. They were perhaps already engaged in treasonable correspondence with the kings of Syria and Israel. It is to this party that Isaiah addresses his rebuke. But the water of Siloah could not with any propriety have been used as a symbol of the house of David, had the fountain not been situate within the city.

In harmony with the evidence of the Scriptures is that which is derived from an examination of the later Jewish tradition. A passage in the Mishna distinctly asserts that Siloah was in the middle of the

[1] Isaiah viii. 6, 7.

city[1]. And we are indirectly, although less determinately, led to the same conclusion by the received although erroneous identification of Siloah with Gihon: Gihon being rendered by Siloah in the Chaldee paraphrase of the books of Kings and Chronicles, and Siloah being called Gihon in the Mishna. These traditions must only be regarded as supplying us with corroborative evidence; we should undoubtedly have done wrong had we originally commenced our building upon so insecure a foundation. Yet if the traditions of the more recent inhabitants of the Holy City are to be taken into account, why should those of the Jewish doctors be neglected?

Lastly, the pool of Siloah is said to have been "by the king's garden." This royal garden has been usually identified with the gardens that lie at the junction of the three valleys to the north of the Bîr Eyûb, and that are watered by the stream that comes from 'Ain Selwân. But there are good reasons for rejecting this identification. For we know that there was a royal garden attached to the palace, called the Garden of Uzza, in which the two kings Manasseh and Amon were buried[2]. Now the approximate position of the royal palace is known in consequence of its contiguity to the steps which conducted from it down into the valley and up into the temple on the other side: and we need not hesitate to assume that the garden itself lay in the valley in front of the palace, and occupied that space which was included between the royal stairs and the southern wall of the city. This supposition is confirmed by the description of the flight of Zedekiah, who, when the Babylonians entered Jerusalem, "went forth out of the city by night, by the way of the king's

[1] Jerusal. Chagigah. fol. 76. 1. cited by Lightfoot, Chor. Cent. xxv. 5.

[2] 2 Kings xxi. 18, 26.

garden, by the gate betwixt the two walls; and went out the way of the plain[1]." The gate betwixt the two walls has been already identified with the cheese-gate, the present Moors' gate, lying between the walls of the Upper and Lower Cities: and as "the way of the plain" (that is, of the plain of Jericho) indicates the route which the king took after leaving the city-gate, so "the way of the king's garden" indicates the track that he previously pursued in order to reach the city-gate.

Such is the principal evidence with regard to the position of Siloah: and if it be now allowed that the antient Siloah can no longer be identified with the modern 'Ain Selwân, little doubt can remain where we ought really to seek for it. The testimony of Scripture, of Josephus, and to a certain degree, of Jewish tradition all concurrently point to the ground just within the city-wall, and immediately to the north-west of the Moors' gate. And here then it was that the fountain stood; the property of the city in the event of a siege, and the ornament of the royal gardens in time of peace.

There are however three passages of Josephus, which might seem, at first sight, to militate against this conclusion and to favour the tradition commonly received; and as these passages have probably contributed in no slight degree to recommend the popular view to such general acceptance, it becomes the more necessary to examine them.

First then, Josephus, speaking of the Cheesemakers' Valley, tells us that it reached as far as Siloah[2]; from which it has been inferred that the fountain was situate in the mouth of the valley. This conclusion evidently rests on the assumption that the whole of the valley,

[1] Jer. xxxix. 4. [2] Jos. B. J. v. 4. 1.

both within and without the city, was called by the same name; an assumption for which there is no direct warrant, and which is open to more than one objection. In the first place the very name itself may be taken as evidence that it applied only to so much of the valley as lay within the city; since it was doubtless derived from the class of inhabitants by whom the valley was tenanted. The space previously occupied by the royal garden was probably taken up by the cheesemakers after the return from the captivity. Then again the name cheese-gate shews that only that part of the valley which lay on its northern side could have been called the Valley of the Cheesemakers; since gates almost uniformly derive their names from the districts into which they lead, not from the districts in the middle of which they are situate. And had Josephus meant to mark the physical limits of the whole depression, he would surely have described it as issuing into the ravine of the Kidron, or as reaching as far as the junction of Kidron with the Valley of Hinnom, rather than as extending to a fountain whose position must have been unknown to many of his readers: besides which, the very terms that he uses, "The valley *known as that of the cheesemakers*[1]," imply that he intended to mark not the physical limit of the valley, but the limit of that part to which the name "Cheesemakers' Valley" was applied. And though the whole of the valley from the north of the Damascus gate to its junction with the Wâdy Yehôshâfât may be broadly described as a single depression, yet even nature herself has drawn a certain line of separation between the part included within the city and the part that lies without. For just in the part where the valley is crossed by the city-wall, it

[1] ἡ τῶν Τυροποιῶν προσαγορευομένη φάραγξ.

almost ceases, strictly speaking, to be a valley at all; there being immediately outside the wall only a very inconsiderable rise from its bottom on to the eastern ridge[1]. But further south, the depression, as compared with the ridge of the Lower City, again deepens, and the valley once more deserves the name.

The next passage to which it is necessary to advert occurs in the description of the wall of circumvallation built by Titus. We there read of the hill "that overhangs the valley of Siloah[2];" and it seems clear that the southern portion of the Mount of Olives is intended. The valley of which Josephus speaks, is certainly not the bed of the Kidron; this cannot be consistently maintained even by those who hold 'Ain Selwân to be the true Siloah. We must rather understand by the "valley of Siloah" the ravine which runs southward from the Moors' gate; and this ravine is sufficiently overlooked from the southern part of the Mount of Olives, although the low ridge of the Lower City is interposed between. Now this is precisely the ravine which we have just been endeavouring to discriminate from the Valley of the Cheesemakers; and it is a confirmation of the view we have taken, to find that this lower ravine was known and distinguished by a separate name. It is in a subsequent passage of Josephus more accurately described as "the ravine below Siloah[3]." And it is very natural that the name of the valley should have been borrowed

[1] This has been kindly ascertained for me by a friend resident in Jerusalem. See also Robinson, Bib. Res. I. p. 395. Gadow, in ZS. d. D. morgenl. Ges. III. p. 44, observes that immediately within the wall the ground is, owing to the accumulation of soil, even higher than the eastern ridge, or at least than the garden of the Mosk el-Aksa.

[2] Jos. B. J. v. 12. 2. ὃς ἐπίκειται τῇ κατὰ τὴν Σιλωὰμ (or, κατὰ Σιλωὰμ) φάραγγι.

[3] Jos. B. J. vi. 8. 5. τὴν ὑπὸ Σιλωὰμ φάραγγα. There is however a difference of reading.

from the fountain which stood just above its northern extremity, and from which a rill of water may very probably have flowed along its bottom.

Lastly, it has been asserted, on the authority of the harangue which Josephus addressed to the Jews during the progress of the siege of Jerusalem, that Siloah was without the city. But the words of Josephus do not imply this: on the contrary, he seems rather to speak of Siloah in contradistinction to the fountains without: "Ye know that both Siloah failed, and all the fountains on the outside of the city[1]." And it may here be asked, if 'Ain Selwân were within the city, where are *all* those exterior fountains to be found? We know but of two besides, the Fountain of the Virgin, and the Well of Job[2]; nor is it probable that there ever were any other fountains outside the walls and in the immediate neighbourhood; since we have the testimony of Timochares, that while the city was abundantly supplied with water, so that even the gardens were irrigated with the streams that issued from within, the country was destitute of water for forty stadia round[3]. We are thus furnished with a fresh reason for not regarding 'Ain Selwân as the antient Siloah.

The true position of the fountain we have thus determined, and sufficiently refuted the objections that might have been brought against our view. We now pass on to the discussion of a yet more difficult question; whence was the supply of water for this fountain obtained? The name Siloah, meaning *Sent*, and implying that the waters had been brought from a distance by

[1] Jos. B. J. v. 9. 4: *τήν τε Σιλωὰμ ἐπιλιποῦσαν ἴστε, καὶ τὰς ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεος ἁπάσας.*

[2] A spring is also said to exist in the north-eastern corner of the Wâdy Yehôshâfât; but it is probably not of much importance. It is called 'Ain es-Sûâny. Tobler, Topographie, II. p. 22.

[3] Timochares, apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. p. 452 b.

artificial means, forbids us to suppose that the place of the fountain was the same with the place of the main spring; and we must endeavour, by carefully assembling and analysing the information we possess, to throw such light upon the subject as we are able.

It has been a prevalent opinion, and however indefinite, it must not be altogether passed over in silence, that the waters of Siloah were in some way connected with the temple. It might be thought, perhaps, that something of this kind was implied in the prophecy of Isaiah which we have already examined. A further confirmation of the prevalent belief might be sought in the Jewish custom of drawing water from the fountain of Siloah in the last day of the feast of tabernacles, to which the prophet Isaiah alludes in a subsequent chapter, "With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation[1]." The Christian student has accordingly ever associated the waters of Siloah with the temple; it is thus that Milton writes, addressing the heavenly muse,

> Or, if Sion's hill
> Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flow'd
> Fast by the oracle of God; I thence
> Invoke thy aid to my adventurous song.

And it is no doubt from this cause that the celebrity of Siloah in Christian times has partly arisen. A considerable mass of evidence has also been brought to prove that there existed beneath the Jewish temple an abundant supply of spring-water. Frequent allusions to this well established fact are to be found in the Scriptures, where the streams of water proceeding from beneath the temple serve as an image of the never-failing supplies of divine grace. It is thus that Jeremiah writes: "A glorious high throne from the beginning is

[1] Isaiah xii. 3. See also John vii. 37.

the place of our sanctuary. O Lord, the Hope of Israel, all that forsake Thee shall be ashamed, and they that depart from Me shall be written in the earth, because they have forsaken the Lord, the Fountain of living waters[1]." Other passages of like import might be quoted; and perhaps in some of them the allusion is yet more distinct[2].

Whether the Gihon water which was first conveyed into the city by king Hezekiah may have been subsequently diverted to the use of the temple, is a legitimate object of enquiry: but it was certainly not from this source that either the waters of Siloah were derived, or the temple-fountains originally supplied. For the waters of Siloah are mentioned by Isaiah as early as the reign of Ahaz; and there is an allusion to the temple-streams in the prophecy of Joel, which was delivered during the reign of Uzziah[3]. We might be tempted therefore to suppose that it was from the temple itself that the water was really derived; that an abundant native spring existed in the rock beneath it, and that water was conveyed from this by a subterranean communication to the fountain of Siloah. In this way all the Scriptural allusions to the temple-waters might be most satisfactorily explained; and it may be fairly urged that the language of Tacitus, who speaks of Jerusalem possessing

[1] Jer. xvii. 12, 13.

[2] See Ezek. xlvii. 1. Joel iii. 18. Zech. xiv. 8. Rev. xxii. 1. The evidence as to the existence of a supply of spring-water beneath the temple has been collected by Williams, Holy City, II. pp. 462—469. Either the expressions of Scripture or the later Jewish traditions have been, as usual, perverted and exaggerated by the Muhammedan doctors; and Kemâl ed-Dîn asserts that the four great rivers of the world, the Sîhan or river of Balkh (the Oxus in Khorassan), the Gîhan (or Tigris), the Nile, and the Euphrates, all flow from under the rock of the temple. See his History of the Temple of Jerusalem, translated by Reynolds. London, 1836.

[3] See for example the proofs of this in Hengstenberg's Christology.

a fountain of never-failing water, can be more naturally interpreted of a native spring within the city than of a supply of water introduced by artificial means[1]. Yet the existence of a native spring has never been proved; and the hypothesis of an original source of living water beneath the temple is open to weighty objections. The character of the region in which Jerusalem lies, and the scarcity of living water at the present day, must be taken into account; and if there had ever been such an abundant native supply of water as not only to suffice for the temple use, but also to allow of a portion being diverted to the fountain of Siloah, why should it have been afterwards necessary to convey an artificial supply of water into the temple by an aqueduct from Bethlehem?

Of this aqueduct we have not yet spoken; but it will be necessary to give some account of it before we proceed further with our subject, as it has an important bearing on the question before us. The spring-head from which the water is derived lies about three miles to the south-west of the village of Bethlehem; where are three immense reservoirs, built of squared stones, and bearing, according to some, marks of the highest antiquity; called by the natives el-Burak, and popularly known as the Pools of Solomon. These pools are supplied by a sunken fountain, situate in the adjoining fields; and the aqueduct which runs from this place to Jerusalem is at its upper extremity formed of the union of three branches, one leading directly from the sunken fountain, one from the lowest of the three pools, and a third from a distinct source in a more southerly direction. On tracing this last branch up for some distance, a fourth branch is found joining it up above. A fifth

[1] Tac. Hist. v. 12: "Fons perennis aquæ, cavati sub terrâ montes: et piscinæ cisternæque servandis imbribus."

branch runs into the main aqueduct a short distance below the reservoirs; but the accounts of travellers leave it uncertain whether this may not be supplied from the same source as either the third or fourth of those already described[1]. This multiplicity of branches may be taken as an indication that the supply of water to Jerusalem from this part of the country has occupied the attention of a succession of engineers of different ages, each of whom has either employed some new machinery, or else endeavoured to avail himself of the water derivable from some new source. Other evidence may also be adduced in support of the same conclusion. A short distance to the north of Bethlehem have been discovered the remains of a second main line of aqueduct, constructed on different mechanical principles to that along which the water at present runs[2]. And even the different parts of the main aqueduct now in use appear to be of very various antiquity. The structure of the greater part of the aqueduct is of a complicated character and of comparatively recent date; but a specimen of a simpler and more antient method of construction is to be found in the middle part of its course near the tomb of Rachel, and traces of a third variety of design have been discovered in several places further north[3]. The aqueduct runs round the sides of the hills in a very winding course; and its direction having been thus continually chosen with due regard to the natural formation of the ground, the level is approximately preserved throughout. It crosses the Wâdy er-Rabâby by a low stone bridge of nine arches immediately above the pool known as Birket es-Sultân, and bending round the south of the hill of the Upper City, passes within the

[1] Robinson, Bib. Res. II. pp. 164—168. Tobler, Topographie, II. pp. 855—864.

[2] Schultz, Jerusalem. p. 95.

[3] Tobler, Topographie, II. pp. 86—88.

modern wall with a northward course. It subsequently runs along the eastern brow of the Upper City by means of a passage cut in the solid rock; and there seems to be little doubt that it finally crosses the Cheesemakers' valley on to the temple-hill by the embankment Millo.

The last recorded repair of the aqueduct is that by sultan Suleimân, the builder of the present walls of Jerusalem, in the sixteenth century; and the water which he conveyed to the city was probably derived from the pools beyond Bethlehem, as at the present day. But in the previous century we have an account of the construction of a channel through the mountains, at a vast expense of labour, by Kaitubai, one of the Mameluke sultans of Egypt, for the purpose of conveying water to Jerusalem from the desert hills near Hebron, a long way beyond the pools. Nor was this the first time that water had been brought to the city from so great a distance; as early as the year 1336 an aqueduct stretching as far as the vicinity of Hebron had been observed and described by a European traveller; and it must have been somewhere about the same time that either one of the aqueducts was constructed, or a previously existing aqueduct repaired, by the Egyptian sultan Muhammed Ibn Kelâûn, who reigned from A.D. 1292 to 1340. His name is still to be read on the bridge by which the aqueduct crosses the Wâdy er-Rabâby, but the stone of the inscription is unfortunately mutilated, and the exact date of the execution of his work cannot be determined[1]. Nor is it certain from what source his water was derived. The first distinct historical notice of an aqueduct is to be found in the writings of Josephus, who incidentally tells us that Pontius Pilate excited a tumult of the Jews by expending

[1] See all the authorities in Tobler, Topographie, II. pp. 92—95.

the sacred treasure, called Corban, in the construction of an aqueduct to convey water to Jerusalem[1]. It has been accordingly supposed by several recent writers that it is to Pontius Pilate that the original construction of the aqueduct is to be ascribed. But there can be little doubt that it was from the pools beyond Bethlehem, and not from the vicinity of Hebron, that the water was originally derived; indeed the Jewish writers specify as the source of the water the fountain of Etam, in the way betwixt Hebron and Jerusalem. This position exactly accords with that of the pools; and the valley below the pools is said to be known by the natives as Wâdy Etân to the present day. And it is therefore unfortunate for the hypothesis of the original construction of the aqueduct by Pontius Pilate, that the length of the existing aqueduct should disagree so completely with the distance specified by Josephus, who tells us in the Antiquities that the spring-head was 200 stadia from Jerusalem, and in the Jewish War that Pilate brought the water from a distance of 400 stadia. The direct distance of Solomon's pools from Jerusalem is not more than 60 stadia, and the aqueduct may be reckoned as traversing between two and three times the direct distance[2]. Moreover the place of the pools of Solomon was probably, as we shall see, a well-known spot; yet Josephus does not even hint that it was hence that Pilate derived his water, but rather intimates, by his silence respecting the locality of the spring-head, that it was situate in a comparatively unknown part of the country. If we regard the 200 stadia of Josephus as the direct distance of the spring-head from Jerusalem, and his 400 stadia as the actual length of the aqueduct, we shall have to seek the former in the hill-country of

[1] Jos. Ant. XVIII. 3. 2. B. J. II. 9. 4.

[2] Williams thinks eight times; but see the estimates in Tobler, Topographie, II. p. 86.

Judah beyond Hebron; and it is perhaps the remains of Pilate's aqueduct to which the notices of the writers of the 14th century partly refer[1].

The construction of the original aqueduct from the pools beyond Bethlehem was therefore anterior to the time of Pilate; and there is a very strong probability that it is to the time of Solomon himself that it ought to be assigned. We are told by Josephus in his Antiquities that there was a place called Etham, distant two schœni from Jerusalem, remarkable for the beauty of its pleasure-gardens and the abundance of its streams, whither Solomon was accustomed to resort[2]. The name of this place again conducts us to the present Wâdy Etân; and the spot, we are told, is still marked by gardens, the largest and most luxuriant that are to be found in the whole mountain-region of Judah[3]. And if these be Solomon's gardens, few will venture to question that the native tradition is correct respecting the origin of

[1] It has been well suggested by Tobler that the Baths of Tiberias, the name of which is still preserved at the S.W. corner of the hill of the Upper City, may have been built by Pilate, named after the reigning emperor, and supplied from this aqueduct. Topogr. II. p. 92.

[2] Jos. Ant. VIII. 7. 3.

[3] Williams, Holy City, II. p. 500: on whose authority also the name Wâdy Etân rests. Tobler doubts the reality of the name (II. p. 863): but remarks that Pococke in the last century spoke of the fountain in the southern valley as the fountain Hatan. There is also a further difficulty. The Etam עיטם of the Rabbies, a place often mentioned in Scripture, is called by Josephus Ἠταμέ (Ant. VIII. 10. 1). The Etham (Ἠθάμ) of Josephus, the place of Solomon's gardens, would rather correspond to the Hebrew איתן *perennial*. Indeed in Psalm lxxiv. 15, the LXX. incorrectly take איתן for a proper name, and render it Ἠθάμ. There is only one instance in the LXX. of the Hebrew ט being rendered by the θ (2 Sam. v. 16). Yet it is in many ways possible that the names may have got confused.

The Rabbies further identify Etam with Nephtoah. (See Lightfoot, Prospect of the Temple, cap. XXIII.) In this they can hardly be right. Yet Gadow makes mention of a ruined aqueduct at the N.W. corner of the modern city. (ZS. d. D. morgenl. Ges. III. p. 41.) Could water have ever been brought into the city from this direction?

the pools: they must also be his. There is no reason to doubt that the gardens are those of which Solomon speaks in the Book of Ecclesiastes[1]; nor is there any inherent improbability in the current belief that the fountain by which the pools are supplied suggested the image of the sealed fountain in Solomon's Song[2].

But for what purpose can we suppose that the pools of Solomon were originally formed? Such extensive works can hardly have been required for the mere irrigation of his pleasure-gardens in the adjacent valley: nor is there any other conceivable object for which they can have been constructed, than for the supply of water to the city of Jerusalem. It is then to Solomon himself that the conveyance of water to Jerusalem from this source is in the first instance to be assigned. Our previous investigations led us to assume that there existed in Jerusalem beneath the temple-hill and at the fountain Siloah an abundant supply of spring-water, which was probably derived from some extraneous source, but which had no connection with the water-works of Gihon. This supply of spring-water was certainly older than the time of Hezekiah, and in all probability reached back to the days of Solomon, since the water must have been required for the service of the temple from the earliest period. A comparison of these separate premises induces the natural conclusion that it was from the Pools of Solomon beyond Bethlehem that the water of Siloah and of the temple-fountains was really derived. And there are some incidental circumstances by which this conclusion is corroborated. That part of the aqueduct which runs within the walls along the eastern brow of the Upper City passes almost close to the spot at which we have shewn that the fountain of Siloah must have stood. And of the antiquity of this portion of the aqueduct

[1] Eccles. ii. 5, 6. [2] Song Sol. iv. 12.

there is no reason to doubt; for it is bored through the solid rock. The propriety of the name Siloah, or *Sent*, is also thus most perfectly explained. The water was sent or conveyed to Jerusalem from a direct distance of nearly six miles; and the aqueduct along which it flowed supplied the fountain Siloah on its passage to the temple. And if we may be permitted to diverge for a moment into the region of figurative interpretation, we may remark how perfect an emblem the water which rose from the country in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, and was thence brought to adorn the royal garden at Jerusalem, furnished of the line of kings of the house of David. We have seen that as such it is employed by Isaiah[1]; and we cannot but recollect that it was at Bethlehem too that He was born, in whom all the prophecies relating to the house of David were finally accomplished. It was indeed probably the fountain of Siloah that suggested the evangelical prophecy of Zechariah,—"In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and for uncleanness[2]." Nor must we forget that in the account of the command of our Saviour to the blind man whose eyes He had anointed with clay, "Go, wash in the pool of Siloam," the evangelist subjoins the interpretation of the name, as if even this were not without a spiritual meaning[3].

The principal objection that might be urged against this view of the source of the waters of Siloah, is that the fountain could never be of any service in the event of a siege, as the aqueduct could be easily interrupted by the besieging party. It is remarkable that we should have no record of this ever having been done; at least I have not succeeded in discovering any notice to that effect: and still more remarkable perhaps is the

[1] Isaiah viii. 6. [2] Zech. xiii. 1. [3] John ix. 7.

statement of William of Tyre, that at the period of the crusades the people within the city were enjoying the benefit of the water which was conveyed into the city by aqueducts, while the besiegers without were greatly suffering from thirst[1]. This will at least shew that we must proceed with caution before we pronounce upon the uselessness of an aqueduct to the inhabitants during a siege. It must be further remembered that the advantage of the aqueduct never consisted merely in the water which it supplied at the moment, but also in that which had been previously collected from it in the immense reservoirs and cisterns that had been excavated or constructed for the purpose. The pool of Siloah, of which all traces have now disappeared, was doubtless one of these; and there is a huge reservoir existing beneath a fountain known as the Orange Fountain in the middle of the Haram which is said to be supplied by the aqueduct at the present day. And again, is it not possible that the original aqueduct of Solomon may have been almost entirely concealed from public view, or at least much more so than that which now attracts the attention of every traveller? We do not know what precise course it may have followed; but if, as is most probable, the existing bore through the cliff in the eastern side of the Upper City be the work of Solomon, it may serve as a proof that that monarch would neither spare expense nor labour in so carrying the aqueduct throughout the remainder of its course as to be of the greatest possible utility to the city. The Mameluke sultan in the fifteenth century employed the labour of more than 600 men and consumed a period of thirty-seven years in conveying the water to Jerusalem from the mountains near Hebron; and Solomon had probably

[1] Will. Tyr. VIII. 4 and VIII. 7 (quoted by Robinson).

at his command resources at least as great, with no less a disposition to make use of them.

It is however on the cisterns in which the rains of heaven are collected that Jerusalem mainly depends for water at the present day. We may allow that the supply of spring-water is now considerably less than in antient times; yet even the sweet and copious streams of Siloah could have ministered but very partially to the wants of an entire city; and on the rain-water of their cisterns the greater part of the inhabitants must always have been content to rely. The regular and seasonable return of the former and latter rains furnished the means of providing for the necessities of the ensuing summer. One or more cisterns were probably then as now an essential part of every house; and even when surrounded by a hostile army, Jerusalem enjoyed in her stores of water a privilege that was denied to the besiegers. Numerous remains of cisterns are still to be seen in that part of the site of the antient city which is excluded by the modern wall. Tacitus speaks of these as well as of a fountain; and Jerome, in whose days the supply of spring-water had doubtless partially failed, testifies that it was thus the people of Jerusalem compensated for the scarcity of springs[1]. Of the larger reservoirs that still remain, many have been alternately filled with spring or rain-water as occasion required.

Before quitting the subject of the waters of Jerusalem, we must devote a few words to the dragon-well (the modern 'Ain Selwân) and its sister-fountain, the Fountain of the Virgin, from which it is supplied. The water which flows in these fountains is imbued with the same flavour as that which we have already denomi-

[1] Hieron. Opp. IV. p. 570. ed. Vallars.

nated the water of Gihon. It is probably derived from the Gihon source; although the travellers who have explored the channel that connects the fountains have been as yet unable to discover any lateral passage to the north by which the water might flow in. Yet Robinson, who failed to detect, seems hardly to doubt its existence; and the theory of such a passage is favoured by the popular belief of the natives. The great size and depth of the excavation at the Fountain of the Virgin induced Robinson to surmise that there was originally a small and failing fountain in this place, and that the conveyance of the water to it from other sources was the work of a subsequent period[1]. There is much reason in the suggestion; and the character of the excavation bespeaks for it an early date; there being, according to the same authority, nothing in or around the Holy City which bears more distinctly the traces of high antiquity. To the Fountain of the Virgin we have no decided reference either in the Old Testament or Josephus. But in this there is little that ought to surprise us. The dragon-well is only once mentioned; and that in the most incidental manner. We have seen that the large pool into which the water from this latter fountain ran, bore among the later Jews the name of the Pool of Solomon. There is no reason to doubt the correctness of the appellation; and it will perhaps follow, that the winding subterranean channel connecting the two fountains could not have been formed later than his time; and in this case the Fountain of the Virgin must be regarded as of still earlier date. And as neither of the fountains was ever included within the city-wall, the formation of the channel, whatever may have been the real reason for the execution of such a work, would hardly have been

[1] Robinson, Bib. Res. I. p. 507.

undertaken at a period when any intention existed of extending the fortifications of the city as far south as the point of the ridge beneath which it runs.

We have already, in speaking of the restoration of Jerusalem, alluded to the prophecy of Zechariah: Jerusalem "shall be lifted up and inhabited in her place, from Benjamin's gate unto the place of the first gate, unto the corner gate, and from the tower of Hananeel unto the king's winepresses[1]." The three gates, as has been shewn, measure the length of Jerusalem from east to west; and it is not difficult to perceive that by the latter words of the prophecy must be described the length of the city from north to south, along a line drawn southwards down the central valley of Jerusalem. But the king's winepresses themselves can hardly have been situate within the walls; and they may be better supposed to have stood at the mouth of the valley, midway between the southernmost points of the eastern and western hills, and consequently not far from the dragon-well. Indeed perhaps their exact position may still be determined. The antient winepresses usually consisted of two receptacles, which were either built of stones and covered with plaster, or hewn out of a large rock. Into the upper of these the grapes were thrown, and there trodden out with the foot; while the juice flowed out through a grated aperture in the bottom of one of the sides into the lower receptacle or vat[2]. Nothing could more accurately correspond to this arrangement than the rocky basin out of which the water of the dragon-well now issues, and the tank below into which it is received. May we not venture to suppose that it was for the treading of grapes that they were originally destined, and that they have only in more recent times served as mere reservoirs to the well?

[1] Zech. xiv. 10. [2] See Jahn's Biblical Antiquities, § 69.

To find the king's winepresses occupying this position is perhaps no more than we might have expected. The southern declivities of the hills of Jerusalem are well adapted for the growth of vines, and were no doubt formerly used for this purpose, as we know was the case with the mountains of Samaria[1]. And bearing in mind that it was the water of Gihon which issued forth from the well at the foot of the vineyards, we shall be able to understand the beautiful description which the son of Sirach gives of Wisdom: The most high God "maketh the doctrine of knowledge appear as the light, and as Geon in the time of vintage. The first man knew her not perfectly: no more shall the last find her out. For her thoughts are more than the sea, and her counsels profounder than the great deep. I also came out as a brook[2] from a river, and as a conduit into a garden. I said, I will water my best garden, and will water abundantly my garden bed: and, lo, my brook became a river, and my river became a sea[3]." That it is the Gihon of Jerusalem—not the Gihon of Eden—that the poet has in view, is clear from his mention of a "channel:" and the waters of the dragon-well, issuing from a concealed source, used afterwards for the purpose of irrigation, then running down to join the Kidron, and flowing at last into the eastern sea, formed an apt illustration of the wisdom which no man hath perfectly found out, but which enriches and fertilizes men's souls, and which shall yet "shine as the morning, and send forth her light afar off."

We must now return to the chapter of Nehemiah

[1] Jer. xxxi. 5.

[2] διῶρυξ: an artificial channel.

[3] Ecclus. xxiv. 27—31. This passage will explain Theodoret's identification of Gihon with Siloah: he probably saw that it was the fountain already known in his day as Siloah to which the son of Sirach had referred. Quæst. II. in 1 Kings (ap. Reland and Williams).

from which we have so long digressed. From the pool of Siloah, or from the fountain-gate, the walls of Nehemiah and Josephus diverge; and the former follows the course of the wall that enclosed the Upper City on the eastern side, a part of the fortifications of the city of which Josephus omits all specific mention. After passing the pool of Siloah, we come to the stairs that go down from the City of David. These have already engaged our attention; and we need not again dwell upon them. We are next brought to the place over against the sepulchres of David[1]; and we are thus led to seek these sepulchres across the valley, in the western declivity of the temple-hill. As they were undoubtedly of considerable extent, they must necessarily have run beneath the outer court of the temple. And this conclusion is confirmed by a remarkable passage in the prophecy of Ezekiel: "Son of man, the place of My throne, and the place of the soles of My feet, where I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever, and My holy Name, shall the house of Israel no more defile, neither they, nor their kings, by their whoredom, nor by the carcases of their kings in their high places. In their setting of their threshold by My thresholds, and their post by My posts, and the wall between Me and them, they have even defiled My holy Name by their abominations that they have committed[2]." It can only be the sepulchres of David and his successors to which Ezekiel here alludes: it can only have been these which, as he describes, were divided from God's house by a single wall. We might be tempted to think of the tombs of Manasseh and Amon; but these were garden-tombs, and therefore, probably, isolated[3]. It will be shewn hereafter that the outer court of the temple was

[1] Neh. iii. 16.

[2] Ezek. xliii. 7, 8.

[3] See Kitto's Cyclopædia, art. Burial.

not regarded as consecrated ground; and the language of Ezekiel thus compels us to suppose that the royal sepulchres extended beneath the temple-hill as far as the limit of the inner sanctuary or sacred enclosure. And could the ground be thoroughly explored beneath the south-western part of the Haram, there, no doubt, at the present day the sepulchres might still be found.

The presence of the sepulchres of David beneath the area of the temple may justly excite in our minds a feeling of wonder and surprise. Yet were we to attempt to determine their position from mere *a priori* probabilities, rather than from the evidence of facts which the language of Scripture brings before us, we should be led to banish them altogether not only from the hill of the temple but from the whole of the space that was enclosed by the wall of Jerusalem. It was rarely, and only as a mark of the most distinguished honour to the deceased, that a sepulchre was formerly permitted within the limits of a city. Among both the Jews and the heathen nations of antiquity the presence of a dead body was regarded as a source of ceremonial defilement[1]. That in the case of the kings of Judah this rule was practically violated, and that they were buried within the precincts of the City of David, is known to every reader of the Bible.

It is from the Old Testament alone that any evidence as to the exact place of the royal sepulchres can be gathered. Josephus tells us of the immense treasures of which first Hyrcanus, and afterwards Herod, plundered David's tomb[2]; and informs us that Herod, by

[1] See Lightfoot, Chor. Cent. cap. XXI.; and Chor. Dec. VIII. 8. See also the account of the burial of Brasidas in Amphipolis, Thuc. v. 11; and compare Cicero, Epp. ad Div. IV. 12, and De Legg. II. 23 (cited in Arnold's note).

[2] Jos. Ant. VII. 15. 3; XIII. 8. 4; XVI. 7. 1. B. J. I. 2. 5.

way of atoning for his impiety, erected a monument of white stone at the door of the sepulchre. But he gives us no clue to the position of the tomb; and his silence on this point is probably intentional. We learn from the New Testament that the sepulchre of David was still well known in the days of the apostles[1]; and Herod's monument was probably at that time standing in front of the entrance to it. But we may well suppose that at the overthrow of Jerusalem the entrance to the sepulchre was buried in rubbish, and that all knowledge of its position was thus gradually lost. For had the Romans subsequently known where to find it, Josephus would hardly have preserved any secrecy on the subject. We have, however, a curious notice in the historian Dion Cassius, who tells us, that previously to the second destruction of the city under Hadrian, the spontaneous fall of Solomon's monument, which was held in reverence by the Jews, furnished an omen of the approaching calamity[2]. This can hardly be understood as referring to the sepulchre itself; and it has been ingeniously suggested by Thenius[3], that the stone monument erected by Herod may be really intended. But it is equally possible that the historian's notice may have reference to some monument or building quite unconnected with the sepulchres. This part of Dion's history is only preserved to us in the epitome of Xiphilin; who may very probably have misconceived many of the allusions in the original work.

However this may be, it is certain that nothing respecting David's tomb was known to the early Christian

[1] Acts ii. 29.

[2] Dio. Cass LXIX. 14: Τὸ μνημεῖον τοῦ Σολομῶντος, ὃ ἐν τοῖς σεβάσμασι οὗτοι ἄγουσιν, ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου διελύθη τε καὶ συνέπεσε.

[3] Thenius, Die Gräber der Könige von Juda, in Illgen's Zeitschrift. 1844. A very full collection of the passages bearing upon the subject.

writers, who speak only of a cenotaph that had been erected to him, and to others of his line, near Bethlehem. The existence of this cenotaph has been hitherto overlooked by modern scholars, who have thus erroneously referred some of the passages in which it is mentioned to the actual tomb at Jerusalem. The Bordeaux pilgrim (A.D. 333) tells us, that not far from Bethlehem was the monument of Ezekiel, Asaph, Job, and of Jesse, David, and Solomon, and that the above names were to be seen written in Hebrew on the side wall going down into the crypt[1]. It is not unlikely that the pilgrim took this monument for the actual sepulchre of the persons mentioned. As we may be sure that he did not understand Hebrew, it is possible that by Ezekiel, Asaph, and Job may be intended Hezekiah, Asa, and Jehoshaphat; and perhaps the pilgrim only wrote Ezekiel, because he had already ascribed to Hezekiah one of the monolithic monuments on the east of the brook Kidron, at Jerusalem. In the Onomasticon Eusebius and Jerome speak of the monument of Jesse and David being shewn at Bethlehem[2]; and in the same century the Roman lady Paula, in writing from Bethlehem to her friend Marcella, to come over and join her, speaks of the pleasure to which she looked forward, of visiting in company with her friend all the objects of interest at Jerusalem, of proceeding thence by the Mount of Olives and Bethany to the Jordan, and thence passing on to the shepherds' folds, and praying in the mausoleum of David[3]; where it is evidently to this cenotaph at Bethlehem that she alludes. We find a subsequent mention of the cenotaph in the narrative of Antoninus of Placentia; and also, for the last time, in the travels

[1] Itin. Burdig. in Wesselingii Itinn. p. 598.

[2] Onomast. art. Bethleem.

[3] In Hieron. Opp. Epist. 46. Tom. I. p. 209. ed. Vallars.

of the French bishop Arculf at the close of the seventh century.

Yet meanwhile it had not been forgotten that the true sepulchres were at Jerusalem; and as early as the beginning of the fourth century a curious fable had gone abroad, that the access to the sepulchres was by a subterranean passage twenty stadia long, the entrance to which was situate at some distance from Jerusalem, and was only known to a few of the priests. It probably arose from the supposition that either the cenotaph at Bethlehem, or perhaps some of the existing sepulchres to the north of the city, were themselves the entrance to the royal tombs. We find this fable in the writings of Dositheus and Epiphanius; and it is repeated at full length in the Paschal Chronicle[1]. The locality assigned in this document to the actual tombs—namely, the vicinity of the fountain of Siloah—rests on the merest legend.

Of more recent date is the pretended tomb within

[1] Chronicon Paschale. ed. Du Fresne. Paris. 1688. p. 155 D (ap. Thenius): Ὁ λαὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλησίον αὐτὸν (Ἡσαΐαν) τοῦ Σιλωὰμ ἔθαψαν ἐπιμελῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως, ἵνα διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν αὐτοῦ ὡσαύτως ἔχωσι τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τοῦ ὕδατος. Ἔστι δὲ ὁ τάφος ἐχομένως τοῦ τάφου τῶν βασιλέων, ὄπισθεν τοῦ τάφου τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐπὶ τὸ μέρος τὸ πρὸς νότον. Σολομὼν γὰρ ἐποίησε τοὺς τάφους τοῦ Δαβίδ, διαγμάψας κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τῆς Σιών, ἥτις ἔχει εἴσοδον ἀπὸ Γαβαὼν μήκοθεν τῆς πόλεως σταδίων εἴκοσιν. Ἐποίησε δὲ ταύτην σκολιάν, σύνθετον, ἀνυπονόητον. Καὶ ἔστιν ἡ εἴσοδος ἕως τῆς σήμερον τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀγνοουμένη τῶν ἱερέων καὶ ὅλῳ τῷ λαῷ. There follows a legend about Hezekiah, evidently based on 2 Kings xx. 14—18: the king's display of his treasures to the Babylonian envoys being explained to mean that he had revealed the secret of the entrance to the sepulchres. It will be observed that this is placed at Gibeon, 20 stadia off the city; but as Gibeon is in reality farther from Jerusalem than Bethlehem, which itself is 40 stadia off, it may have been the cenotaph at Bethlehem that is intended. It may interest the curious reader to know that at Khareitûn, south of Bethlehem, there is a cave respecting which "the Arabs believe that the subterranean passages run along as far as to Hebron, a distance of at least 18 English miles."—Van de Velde, Syria and Palestine in 1851 and 1852, II. p. 35.

the pile of buildings now known as en-Neby Dâûd. These buildings stand on the summit of that part of the western hill of Jerusalem which is excluded by the modern wall. They have now passed into the hands of the Muhammedans; but they were formerly one of the most venerated resorts of the Christian pilgrims of the middle ages. The mosk which contains the tomb stands on the east side of the pile; and was known to the Christians as the Church of Zion, or the Church of the Apostles. From an early period the site had been pointed out by tradition as that of the upper chamber, whither from the day of the betrayal of their Master, the apostles had resorted. It was asserted in the fourth century that even the original building had escaped in the demolition of the city by Titus. Here our Saviour was believed to have eaten the last supper with His disciples; here He had twice appeared to them after His resurrection, assembled together on the first day of the week; here the Holy Ghost had descended upon them on the great day of Pentecost. It was probably from a misapprehension of St Peter's words, "he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is *with us* unto this day[1]," that the believers of a later age located in the Church of the Apostles the tomb of the patriarch David. The tombs of David and Solomon are first mentioned as existing within this church by Raimond D'Agiles, one of the cotemporary historians of the first crusade[2]. From that time forward they are

[1] Acts ii. 29. It may be observed by the way, that the true rendering of ἐν ἡμῖν is "in Jerusalem."

[2] In Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 174: "Sunt autem in Ecclesiâ illâ hæc sacra; sepulchrum Regis David, et Salomonis, et Sancti Protomartyris Stephani: migravit ibi beatissima Virgo Maria de seculo: cœnavit ibi Dominus et resurgens a mortuis discipulis ibi apparuit, et Thomæ; ibidem Apostoli inflammati sunt adventu Spiritus Sancti." This important passage, unknown to Thenius and Williams, has been brought to light by Tobler, Topographie, II. p. 148.

constantly noticed in the writings of succeeding travellers; but they do not appear to have become with the Christians a standard article of faith. The Musulmans were less sceptical; and it was in their zeal to protect the tomb of David from the presence of the unbelievers, that the Turks gradually wrested the building from the hands of its Christian possessors. The tomb is now an object of veneration principally to the Muhammedans and the Jews. Access to it is denied to the Christians; and even to the Muhammedans themselves it is a matter of difficulty. It is carefully described by the monk Quaresmius, who says: "The whole building is divided into two parts, the upper and lower; of which the lower is subdivided into a front and back chamber. The latter, which is somewhat less than the other, is about twenty steps in length and fourteen in breadth; it is called the Sepulchre of David. At the farther end of it is as it were a great stone chest, standing up above the ground, and fixed to the wall; and this is said to be David's tomb, and is highly esteemed by the Turks. It is covered with silk palls and other ornaments, and is protected in front by a balustrade[1]." It is sufficiently clear from this description that the place has not the slightest resemblance to a Jewish sepulchre; nor does it in the least accord with what Josephus relates of the burial-place of David. It has accidentally found a place in the schemes of topography of some recent scholars; but it is difficult to believe that any of them would seriously defend it as genuine. Nor would it indeed merit any more notice than the gigantic Moslem tombs of Abel and Seth between Ba'albek and Damascus, were it not for the notoriety which has been conferred upon it by frequent and repeated mention.

[1] Quaresmius, Elucidationes, II. p. 123.

The most curious circumstance connected with the history of the traditions respecting the tomb of David is the alleged discovery of the subterranean sepulchres in the middle of the twelfth century as recorded by the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela. The place of the alleged discovery could not have been far distant from that of the present traditionary tomb; for it was in repairing the Church of the Apostles that the sepulchres are said to have come to light. Fifteen years before,—so runs the Rabbi's story,—some workmen had been employed to repair the Christian place of worship, and had been ordered to fetch stones from the original city-wall for that purpose. Two of the number, working apart from the rest, had accidentally uncovered the mouth of a cavern, and descending in search of treasure, had proceeded till they reached a large hall, supported by pillars of marble, encrusted with gold and silver; before the pillars stood a table with a golden sceptre and crown. This was the sepulchre of David, and beyond, in a similar condition, were the sepulchres of Solomon and the other kings of Judah. As the workmen were about to enter the hall, they were prostrated by a blast of wind issuing from the mouth of the cavern; and they lay on the ground till the evening, when they were warned by a preternatural voice to depart. The patriarch, on hearing of the adventure, ordered the place to be walled up and hidden from view[1]. This singular story has in our own days found more than one defender; nor is it easy to determine the proportions of truth and fiction in it. The workmen must according to the account have been more fortunate than Herod, who was prevented from reaching the actual tombs by the mechanical contrivance that concealed

[1] Early Travels in Palestine, Bohn's Series, pp. 84, 85.

them beneath the earth[1]. But it may be remarked that Rabbi Benjamin, although he visited Jerusalem only fifteen years after the alleged discovery, was himself unacquainted with the spot where the workmen were said to have entered. His whole story consists merely of what he had heard from a fellow-countryman; and no evidence corroborative of its truth has been found in any other author, Jewish, Christian, or Muhammedan. Nor can it be shewn that the previously existing tradition was affected by the alleged discovery. All these circumstances, to pass by the obvious improbabilities contained in the account itself, combine to throw discredit upon it; and the last and fatal objection to its truth is that the sepulchres, as we know from Scripture, were situate not in the Upper City, but in the City of David.

Rejecting then alike the story of Benjamin of Tudela, and the claims of the Moslem traditionary tomb, we have still before us the elaborate argument in which M. De Saulcy has recently attempted to identify the sepulchres of David with the remarkable monument to the north of the city, known as the Kubûr el-Mulûk or Tombs of the Kings. All notice of those tombs must be deferred for the present; but the principal objections to De Saulcy's theory may be easily gathered from our preceding investigations: and as it is only in the Bible that we have even the slightest indication of the true site of the royal sepulchres, we may be content to adopt the concurrent intimations of the Scripture passages that bear upon the subject.

We now once more resume the thread of the circuit of the walls in the Book of Nehemiah. Next to the sepulchres of David comes the "pool that was made," in the place where we have already fixed it. We then

[1] Jos. Ant. VIII. 15. 3.

arrive at the house of the mighty,—that is, of the generals, or military heroes,—probably those of the bygone days of David[1], whose residence still remained as the memorial of their departed glory. This house must have stood near the east end of the embankment Millo: and we then proceed, in the seventeenth and eighteenth verses, along the south wall of the embankment, till we come "over against the going up to the armoury at the turning of the wall." By the "turning of the wall[2]" is meant an internal angle, or nook, in opposition to an external angle, or corner; and the "turning of the wall" here mentioned is clearly that formed by the junction of the southern wall of Millo with the western wall of the outer court of the temple. The armoury—mentioned by Josephus as forming part of the temple[3]—seems to have stood within the temple-area, facing the gate that opened on to Millo; and the "going up" to it might be better rendered the "steps" up to it. We have already remarked its probable identity with the House of the Forest of Lebanon, built by king Solomon. Turning southward along the western wall of the temple-area, we pass the houses of the high priest Eliashib and others, and come at length to the "turning of the wall, even unto the corner." The corner would be formed by the south wall of the temple-area running eastward from this point; the "turning of the wall" could have only been formed by a wall running in a westerly or south-westerly direction from the same point, or from a point near it. This wall was undoubtedly the one which stretched across the valley as far as the cheese-gate, and surrounded the south-eastern part of the royal garden[4]; and

[1] The word גִּבֹּרִים seems to be only used of the "mighty men" in the time of David. See especially 2 Sam. xxiii. 8.

[2] מִקְצוֹעַ in opposition to פִּנָּה.

[3] Jos. Ant. ix. 7. 2. This passage is based on 2 Kings xi. 10 and 2 Chron. xxiii. 9.

[4] Jer. xxxix. 4.

as Nehemiah is necessarily obliged to break the continuity of his circuit in order to describe this wall, we now see the reason of the absence of any connecting link between the 24th and 25th, and 25th and 26th verses, and consequently have a most satisfactory test of the correctness of the results at which we have arrived. The king's high house is in fact the palace of Solomon, on the western side of the valley,—and the "tower which lieth out" is probably none other than the tower of Siloah the fall of which is mentioned in the gospel of St Luke[1]. The court of the prison was attached to the palace[2]: it was here that Jeremiah was confined in the reign of Zedekiah, during the siege of the city by the Chaldeans[3]. He was at one time thrust down by the princes into the dungeon of Malchiah, within the prison court; but from this he was delivered through the intercession of Ebedmelech, an Ethiopian eunuch in the palace[4]. And it was evidently from the remembrance of his own sufferings in the dungeon that Jeremiah borrowed some of the language in which he subsequently bewailed the ruin of his country[5].

Returning to the south-west corner of the temple-area, we find that the Nethinim or temple servants repaired the southern wall eastward, as far as the place over against the water-gate. This water-gate was the southern gate of the inner court, as will be more clearly seen when we come to describe the temple in full. The Nethinim also repaired "the tower that lieth out."

[1] Luke xiii. 4.

[2] Jer. xxxii. 2.

[3] Ib. and xxxiii. 1; xxxvii. 21; xxxviii. 28; xxxix. 14.

[4] Jer. xxxviii. 6 seqq. We might be tempted to translate מלכיהו בן־המלך Malchiah the king's son. But Zedekiah was only thirty-one years of age, and could not well have had a grown up son. Moreover Malchiah seems to have been the father of Pashur, v. 1. Hammelech is also a proper name in xxxvi. 26.

[5] Lam. iii. 52 seqq.

This was connected, probably, with the fortifications of Ophel; and the same observation applies to "the great tower that lieth out," in the next verse. We then come to the "wall of Ophel;" by which may be understood its eastern wall, uniting it to the south-eastern corner of the temple-area. This wall of Ophel forms the concluding portion of the old wall described by Josephus. But it is evident that in the description of Nehemiah, the towers and wall of Ophel figure rather as outlying buildings, than as parts of the city; and if that part of the old wall which went forth to Solomon's pool and thence reached to Ophel, thus enclosing the southern part of the Lower City, had ever yet been built, it must have been relinquished by Nehemiah for the present.

In the wall of Ophel probably stood the horse-gate; and therefore both the one and the other serve equally well to mark the south-eastern corner of the temple-area. That the horse-gate looked on to the valley of the Kidron is implied by Josephus in his paraphrase of the Scripture narrative of the death of Athaliah; though it may be doubted whether he was right in supposing the horse-gate, ordinarily so called, to be the one there intended[1]. By a singular though entirely fortuitous coincidence, the vaults beneath the south-eastern portion of the Haram have since the time of the crusaders been known as the stables of Solomon[2]. Proceeding northwards along the eastern wall, past the east gate, we come in the thirty-first verse to the corner chamber[3], which marks the north-eastern corner

[1] Jos. Ant. ix. 7. 3. 2 Kings xi. 16; 2 Chron. xxiii. 15. Williams, Memoir, p. 121.

[2] See Benjamin of Tudela, in Early Travels in Palestine, Bohn's Series, p. 83; and Mejîr ed-Dîn, xx. 24, in Appendix to Williams' Memoir, p. 152. Williams, Holy City, II. p. 310.

[3] עליה. See Gesenius in voce.

of the temple-area; and thence along the north wall to the sheep-gate from which we started, having thus made the entire circuit of the city and temple.

There will now be no difficulty in understanding the night survey which Nehemiah made of the walls before he proposed to repair them[1]. Issuing forth by the valley-gate, opposite the dragon-well, he rode along the side of the hill of the Upper City to the cheese-gate; whence he surveyed all the interior part of the walls. Proceeding to the fountain-gate, and the king's pool (the pool of Siloah which lay in the royal garden), he was stopped by the ruins: he therefore turned back, rode down the ravine of Siloah, and up the brook Kidron, and thence examined the condition of the eastern wall of the temple.

Equally clear is the account of the procession at the dedication of the wall[2]. Two companies assembled in the neighbourhood of the valley-gate: the one company marched eastward towards the cheese-gate, and passing through the fountain-gate, crossed the royal garden, and thence ascended by the stairs into the temple, halting in the water-gate, the southern gate of the inner court: the other company went in the other direction by the tower of the furnaces, the broad wall, the gate of Ephraim, the old gate, and the fish-gate, thence by Millo, past the towers of Hananeel and Meah, to the sheep-gate, halting in the prison-gate, which must evidently have opened into the inner temple-court from the northern side. In the positions that they finally occupied the two companies stood face to face. The house of David, mentioned in the thirty-seventh verse, can only be understood of the palace of Solomon. The original palace of David was situate in quite a different position, to the north of the temple.

[1] Neh. ii. 13—15. [2] Neh. xii. 31—40.

In connection with the gates of Jerusalem, we may introduce a notice of those streets, the names of which have been preserved to us. The prophet Jeremiah often speaks of the streets of Jerusalem in general[1]. But specially, we have mention of the east street[2], which probably connected the eastern gates of the inner and outer court of the temple; of the street of the water-gate[3], which may in the same way be readily conceived to have united the two gates on the southern side; of the street of the house of God[4], probably the same with the causeway Millo; of the street of the gate of Ephraim[5], which may have run along the slight depression[6] that separates the Armenian quarter from the Jews' quarter of the modern city; of the street of the gate of the city[7], which led perhaps, in Hezekiah's time, to the high gate of Benjamin; and of the bakers' street[8].

With the restoration of Jerusalem by Nehemiah ends the Old Testament canonical record of the history of the Holy City: the accounts that we have of it in the succeeding ages are but scanty, and it is no part of my design to enter into the history of the Jewish nation and Jewish politics generally, except so far as they bear on the immediate subject before us. During the reign either of Artaxerxes Longimanus, or one of his successors of the same name, the murder of the intrusive high-priest Jeshua in the temple by his brother

[1] Jer. v. 1; vii. 17,34; xxxiii. 10: Lam. ii. 19; iv. 1.
[2] 2 Chron. xxix. 4.
[3] Neh. viii. 1, 3, 16.
[4] Ezra x. 9.
[5] Neh. viii. 16.
[6] "A dip in the hill." Williams, Holy City, II. p. 55. "Eine thalartige Vertiefung." Schultz, p. 29. "Ein Thälchen." Tobler, Topographie, I. p. 35.
[7] 2 Chron. xxxii. 6.
[8] Jer. xxxvii. 21.

Johanan, the rightful possessor of the office, gave occasion to the seven years' oppression of the Jews by the Persian general Bagoses[1]. But with this exception, the Persian rule seems to have been favourable to the Jews; and it is probable that Jerusalem materially increased in importance and prosperity; since it was represented to Alexander the Great that the Jews might cause the same trouble to him, as they had done to the Assyrians of olden time[2]. The prosperity of Jerusalem was not interrupted by the conquests of that prince; a divine warning (for we have no reason to disbelieve the account given us by Josephus) induced Alexander to receive with favour the procession of priests and citizens that advanced to meet him on his approach; and having sacrificed in the temple, and listened to the prophecies of Daniel respecting himself, he either granted or confirmed to the Jews the privileges of being governed by their own laws, and of exemption from tribute on the sabbatical year[3]. Nor does Jerusalem appear to have suffered much during the wars of Alexander's successors. The first Ptolemy, before he assumed the title of king of Egypt, treacherously obtained possession of the city by entering it on the sabbath, under pretext of sacrificing; but on this very account, it escaped the evils of a siege: and though Ptolemy carried off many of the Jews to Egypt, and is said at first to have treated the nation harshly, yet we find that many afterwards emigrated to Egypt of their own accord, attracted by the privileges there conferred upon them, and that at home Simon the high-priest, son of Onias, was not impeded in his work of fortifying the temple[4].

This Simon, surnamed the Just, on account of his

[1] Jos. Ant. xi. 7. 1.
[2] Ib. xi. 8. 4.
[3] Ib. xi. 8. 5.
[4] Ib. xii. 1. Ecclus. l. 1.

piety and his patriotism[1], celebrated by the Jews as the last of the Great Synagogue or body of men by whom the canon of Old Testament Scripture was finally ordered and completed, appears in the book of Ecclesiasticus as the last of the band of famous men, "whose righteousness had not been forgotten:" and he seems to have been specially remembered for his labours on the temple. It is to be regretted that on account of the very indifferent Greek in which that book has come down to us, the exact nature of those labours must remain a matter of uncertainty. He seems further (if our English translation of the Greek be correct) to have fortified the city[2]; and perhaps we might venture to suppose that he completed the restoration of the wall of the Lower City, which had been temporarily relinquished by Nehemiah. Yet it is better to forbear from speculating too positively on a subject of which we know so little. We have the testimony of Agatharchides of Knidos, that at the time Jerusalem was seized by the first Ptolemy it was strong and large[3]. Hecatæus of Abdera also, who flourished during the reign of the same prince, speaks of the city as strong, and tells us that it had 120,000 inhabitants, and was fifty stadia in circumference[4]. This last estimate is certainly wrong; for the city was, according to Josephus, only thirty-three stadia in circumference after the great wall of Agrippa had been built; and we must therefore not

[1] Jos. Ant. XII. 2. 4. That this Simon is the Simon of the Book of Ecclesiasticus, see Arnald on Ecclus. L. 1. The reasons for assuming that the Jewish canon was not closed before his time are to be found in the length of the genealogy 1 Chron. iii. 17—24. But if Lord A. Hervey's emendation of that genealogy be accepted, those reasons are removed.

[2] Ecclus. L. 4: ὁ φροντίζων τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ πτώσεως, καὶ ἐνισχύσας πόλιν ἐμπολιορκῆσαι.

[3] Agath. ap. Jos. Ant. XII. 1: πόλιν ὀχυρὰν καὶ μεγάλην.

[4] Hecatæus ap. Jos. contra Apion. I. 22, quoted also by Eusebius, Præp. Evang. IX. p. 408.

place too much confidence in Hecatæus' estimate of the population.

The reign of the second Egyptian Ptolemy was rendered memorable by the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, and by the magnificent gifts which the king sent to Jerusalem for the temple service[1]. The account given us by Josephus respecting the events of this reign is principally derived from the letter ascribed to Aristeas, the king's envoy to Jerusalem, which is now not generally regarded as genuine. The whole of the Jewish citizens that had been carried into Egypt by Ptolemy I. were set free, to the number of 120,000; a number, however, which may be understood as including the captives not only from Jerusalem, but also from the country, and even some who had been removed from Jerusalem by the Persians.

Jerusalem continued to prosper under Ptolemy Evergetes, the third of the Greek dynasty in Egypt, who, on his return from a successful campaign in Syria, visited the city, offered sacrifice, and presented many rich gifts to the temple[2]. But in the succeeding wars between Syria and Egypt the Jews were exposed to many sufferings; until the assistance which they finally rendered to Antiochus the Great in expelling the Egyptian garrison from Jerusalem, procured for them a liberal reward from that prince. He granted them the full use of their own laws, remitted three years' taxes to the inhabitants of the capital in order to induce the people to settle there, exempted the whole of the sanhedrim, priests, scribes, and singers from taxation, furnished materials for the repair of the temple, and decreed that the temple should be protected from the ingress of foreigners, and the city from all ceremonial pollution[3].

[1] Jos. Ant. XII. 2. [2] Jos. contr. Apion. II. 5.
[3] Jos. Ant. XII. 3. 3, 4.

The Jewish espousal of the Syrian cause, and the desertion of their old masters the Egyptians, had been, however, prophetically condemned by Daniel[1]: and although the attempt which the next Syrian king, Seleucus Philopator, made to plunder the temple is recorded to have been miraculously defeated[2], yet the privileges which the Jews had obtained of Antiochus the Great were betrayed, abandoned, and virtually annulled by the profligacy and apostasy of two of their own nation, who successively obtained by bribery the honours of the high-priesthood from Antiochus Epiphanes, brother of Seleucus. The endeavours of the elder of these two brothers to regain, by force, the position in which his younger brother had supplanted him, gave occasion to Antiochus, who was at this time in Egypt, to march with his whole army upon Jerusalem. Having taken the city—whether by force or by treachery is uncertain[3]—he massacred the inhabitants of the party opposed to him, violated the sanctuary, and plundered the temple of all its treasures, amounting to 1800 talents[4]. Two years afterwards (B.C. 168), either in search of treasure, or in quest of tribute, or else with the design of enforcing the Greek religion on the Jews, he sent Apollodorus with an army against Jerusalem; who, having obtained possession of the city by deceit, threw down the walls, burnt the handsomest buildings, commenced a fresh massacre of the male inhabitants, and carried the women and children into captivity; the daily sacrifice ceased, swine were offered upon the altars, the temple was polluted; and the citadel Akra, which commanded the

[1] Dan. xi. 14.

[2] 2 Macc. iii.

[3] 2 Macc. v. 11, δορυάλωτον. Jos. Ant. XII. 5. 3, ἀμαχητί. B. J. I. 1, κατὰ κράτος. Diodorus speaks of a capitulation.

[4] 1 Macc. i. 20—24. 2 Macc. v. 11—21. Jos. Ant. XII. 5. 3. The Second Book of Maccabees says that 40,000 of the inhabitants were slain, and 40,000 sold into slavery.

temple, having been fortified, a garrison was left within it[1]. But the result of this bitter persecution was only to make the Jews feel their true strength. From this period commenced the heroic wars of the Maccabees, of which the firstfruits, under the divine blessing, was the purification of the temple and the restoration of the national religion by Judas; and which finally, after the successive deaths of Judas and Jonathan, resulted in the establishment of Jewish independence under their brother Simon.

We have already had occasion to investigate the topography of Jerusalem in the times of the Maccabees, and to determine the position of the Akra or citadel which was held by the Syrian garrison[2]. This was in fact none other than the old stronghold of Zion, or City of David, in its narrowest sense[3]; a comparatively small fort, which did not require any large body of men to defend it, and which the Jews, notwithstanding their victories, were unable to reduce till the end of the war. Jonathan Maccabeus, we are told, at the same time that he restored the walls of Jerusalem and fortified the temple, carried a wall through the middle of the city, to cut off the Syrian garrison from the market and so to starve them into surrender[4]. By the market is probably intended the Upper City, which, as we know, was called the Upper Market in Josephus' day; and Jonathan's wall of investment, which seems to have been distinct from any of the previous city-walls, ran, in all probability, across the Lower City, from west to east, between the Akra and the temple.

[1] 1 Macc. i. 29 seqq. 2 Macc. v. 24—26. Jos. Ant. XII. 5. 4. Josephus erroneously states that king Antiochus was present; and transfers to this occasion the spoiling of the temple.

[2] See above, pp. 13—20.

[3] It was probably from this same citadel that the Egyptian garrison had been expelled in the time of Antiochus the Great.

[4] Jos. Ant. XIII. 5. 11.

It was a wise policy which moved Jonathan's brother Simon, after he had become master of the Akra, to raze it to the ground, and to cut away the rock on which it stood. The almost impregnable walls of the Upper City were sufficient for the defence of Jerusalem against a foreign enemy; and experience had shewn that the Akra, so far from adding to the safety or the prosperity of the city, had only served in turn for the occupation of an Egyptian or Syrian garrison. The views of Simon were shared by the people; for three years, night and day, they laboured to demolish the rock which had proved such a source of annoyance to them: and we have the testimony of Josephus that they succeeded in levelling the ground to a plane surface, such as the northern part of the Haram esh-Sherîf presents to this day[1].

It seems hardly to admit of a doubt that the removal of the Akra itself, and not the filling up of the valley to the north of the Akra, was the primary object that Simon had in view. But in the description of Jerusalem which has already been quoted from the Jewish war, Josephus tells us that the Asmonæans filled up the valley with the design of uniting the city to the temple. Although the purpose of Simon and the Jews is here very loosely represented, yet the passage must be taken as evidence that the city at this time reached to the north of the valley in question; and we are therefore compelled to suppose that the Third Hill was already covered with houses, although it lay outside the walls. Indeed if Hecatæus' estimate of the population be anywhere near the truth, it seems necessarily to follow, that the city at this time extended over a greater space than it had occupied in the days of the monarchy; and although it cannot be proved that the

[1] Jos. Ant. XIII. 6. 5.

Third Hill was enclosed by a wall till the days of Agrippa, yet the language of Josephus would seem to imply that this hill had been inhabited for some time previously to the springing up of the fourth quarter of the city[1].

In the first year of the government of Simon's son and successor Hyrcanus, Jerusalem was again besieged by Antiochus Eusebes; who surrounded the city with seven encampments, but specially directed his attacks against the north wall,—probably the north wall of the Upper City,—where we are told there was a level ground outside. He here constructed a hundred towers three stories in height. The approach of the feast of tabernacles induced Hyrcanus to ask a truce of seven days for the purpose of celebrating the festival. The Syrian monarch replied by sending in a magnificent offering for sacrifice; and a treaty was ultimately arranged by which the Jews agreed to deliver up their arms, and to cede to the Syrians the revenues of Joppa and the other towns on the confines of Judæa. Antiochus had wished to place a garrison within Jerusalem; but to this the Jews refused to consent, and the king contented himself with throwing down the fortifications of the city. It was on this occasion that Hyrcanus plundered the sepulchre of David of 3000 talents: three hundred were paid to Antiochus to induce him to consent to the treaty; the rest were employed in erecting a mercenary army by means of which Hyrcanus subsequently restored the Jewish fortunes[2].

The rule of Hyrcanus lasted thirty-one years. He was succeeded by Aristobulus, who assumed and disgraced the title of royalty. Neither the annals of his reign, nor those of the reign of his brother Alexander

[1] Jos. B. J. IV. 2: *τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰ προσάρκτια πρὸς τῷ λόφῳ συμπολίζοντες*; the λόφος, or Third Hill, having been previously established as part of the city.

[2] Jos. Ant. XIII. 8. B. J. I. 2. 5.

Janneus furnish much that bears on the city of Jerusalem. But the dissensions of Alexander's two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, of whom the former exercised the high-priesthood, while the latter succeeded to the crown, were the source of much calamity to the city. Hyrcanus, who had fled for protection to Aretas king of Arabia, attempted with the arms of his ally to gain possession of the city; but the siege was raised by the Romans under Pompey's lieutenant Scaurus. Both the brothers now sought to enlist the intervention of Pompey in their own behalf. The Roman decided to espouse the cause of Hyrcanus, and marched his army against Jerusalem. Aristobulus, terrified, met Pompey at Jericho, and tendered his submission; but his own party within the city, more venturesome than their leader, refused to admit the Romans, and prepared to abide a siege. Pompey therefore advanced with his whole army from Jericho, and pitched his camp on the hill to the south-west of the city, where the memory of it was preserved till the days of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus[1]. Meanwhile parties within the city were divided. The adherents of Hyrcanus opened the gates to Pompey, who thus became master of the Upper City and of the palace of Aristobulus, which seems to have occupied the same site as the former palace of Solomon; while the war party, retiring into the temple, cut off the communication by the causeway, so that the Romans could only attack them from the north, and even here with difficulty. After some siege operations to which we shall have occasion hereafter to refer, the temple was captured in the third month; the Jews were slaughtered to the number of twelve thousand; and the conqueror entered even into the Holy of Holies, although he refrained from plundering the sacred treasures. From

[1] Jos. B. J. v. 12. 2.

this time the Roman dominion may be said to have begun: all Jewish independence was virtually at an end[1].

The troubles of the subsequent years gave rise to many changes in the constitution of the Jewish government: the land for the most part nominally remained under the sway of Hyrcanus or of the local Sanhedrims, but the real authority was exercised by the controlling influence of the Edomite Antipater, while the people were kept in subjection by Roman armies, and plundered by Roman avarice. The proconsul Gabinius contented himself with extortion and with bribes: his successor, Crassus, was less scrupulous; he swore to respect and immediately carried off the whole of the treasures of the temple[2]. From Cæsar, Antipater obtained permission to repair the breaches made by Pompey in the wall of Jerusalem, a privilege which had been denied to Hyrcanus on a previous occasion[3]. Meanwhile, the sympathies of a great part of the nation lay with the unworthy representatives of the Asmonæan family, who still maintained their pretensions to the crown; and although the efforts of Aristobulus to regain the throne were unavailing, his son Antigonus eventually marched into Judæa with the aid of a Parthian army, and succeeded with a few adherents in entering Jerusalem. Herod and Phasael, the sons of Antipater, who had been made tetrarchs of Palestine by Antony, and who administered the government under Hyrcanus, defended themselves in the royal palace against the invaders; and a fight ensued in the market-place, in which the two brothers had the advantage. The party of Antigonus fortified themselves in the temple; and Jerusalem became the scene of daily skirmishes, which acquired additional importance, when the multi-

[1] Jos. Ant. xiv. 4. [2] Jos. Ant. xiv. 7. 1.
[3] Jos. Ant. xiv. 8. 5: xiv. 5. 2.

tude who had come up to keep the feast of Pentecost, and who sided with Antigonus, were severely repulsed by Herod. But at last the Parthian prince, entering the city under pretext of restoring peace, succeeded in alluring Phasael and Hyrcanus into his power; and Herod, despairing of making head any longer against his enemies, fled away by night and narrowly escaped with his life.

The temporary victory of the national party, if such it may be called, was not such as any true patriot could have beheld with satisfaction. The Parthians, through whose aid it had been partly obtained, inaugurated it by sacking not only the palace, but the whole of the city and country round; and Antigonus shewed himself worthy of his barbarian allies by maiming Hyrcanus, to disqualify him for exercising the high-priesthood for the future[1]. Phasael saved himself from being insulted alive, by dashing his own head against a stone. Meanwhile Herod, disappointed of his hope of obtaining assistance from the Arabians, repaired to Rome, where Antony, partly out of gratitude to his family, partly out of sympathy with his misfortunes, and still more perhaps out of policy, procured his nomination to the throne of Judæa. The throne so readily granted, had however yet to be won; and Herod's first endeavours to gain possession of Jerusalem were thwarted by the Roman officers on whose aid he relied, and who had received bribes from Antigonus. But all obstacles were at length surmounted; and within three years from the date of his appointment to the kingdom, Herod finally encamped, with a Roman army under the command of Sosius, before the gates of Jerusalem.

[1] In the Jewish War, I. 13. 9, Antigonus is said to have himself bitten off Hyrcanus' ears. It is to be hoped this is an exaggeration: in his later work, the Antiquities, Josephus merely says that he cut them off. XIV. 13. 10.

In the account of the ensuing siege, which lasted five months, and terminated in the subjection of Jerusalem to Herod's dominion, there is one notice, which had Josephus been more explicit on the subject, might have proved of considerable importance for the topography of the city at that time. We are told that the first wall was taken in forty days, the second in fifteen[1]. Now Herod had determined to attack the city from the same quarter as Pompey had done previously, namely, from the north of the temple[2]. But it is at least clear that he stormed the Lower City north of the temple, before he took the temple-court itself: and though it is possible that by the two walls above mentioned are only to be understood the wall of the Lower City and the wall of the temple, or the wall of the Lower City and the wall of the castle Baris, yet it seems more natural to interpret them of two distinct city-walls unconnected with the temple. In this case, two hypotheses present themselves for our choice. Either we may suppose the first wall to have been the exterior wall of the Lower City, and the second wall to have been that which Jonathan Maccabeus built between the old Akra and the temple; or else we may suppose the second wall to have been the wall of the Lower City, and the first wall to have been a wall surrounding the Third Hill, to the north of the Lower City, which, as we have already seen, must have been peopled long before this time. Such a wall might have been built by Antipater, and have been afterwards suffered to fall into decay before the time of the construction of the great wall of Agrippa.

[1] Jos. Ant. XIV. 16. 2: *ἡρέθη γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τεῖχος ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον πεντεκαίδεκα, καί τινες τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνεπρήθησαν στοῶν . . . . ἤρημένου δὲ τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ, καὶ τῆς κάτω πόλεως, εἰς τὸ ἔσωθεν ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν Ἰουδαῖοι συνέφυγον.*

[2] Ib. XIV. 15. 14.

The long and splendid but sanguinary reign of Herod must be regarded as the period of the transformation of the holy city of God's chosen people into a Roman provincial capital; when the style of building, which from whatever source it may in the first instance have been adopted, had yet by long association come to be regarded by the Jews as national, and had probably been more or less altered and adapted to Jewish habits and feelings, was finally exchanged for the classical architecture of Greece and Rome, with which Herod so profusely adorned not only Jerusalem, but the other cities of his dominions. The king himself, by birth an Edomite, by profession a Jew, and by disposition a Roman, was sufficiently free from any real religious scruples to be able to treat all religions with equal honour, and could, with equal ease and liberality devote the revenues that he raised from his subjects to the restoration of their own temple at Jerusalem, to the rebuilding of the Pythian temple at Rhodes, or to the revival of the antient splendour of the Olympian games[1]. In respect, however, of the classical buildings that Herod erected in his capital, it must be confessed that we know so little either of the style or of the history of Jewish architecture, that we cannot determine whether it had not at this period fallen into complete decline, and whether the introduction of the classical style was not, as in the case of the renaissance in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the natural consequence of the previous decay of national art.

Of Herod's labours on the temple, and of the magnificent classical portico with which he adorned it, and also of the fortress Antonia, we shall have hereafter to speak. His other principal works at Jerusalem consisted of a theatre within the city, a large amphitheatre

[1] Jos. Ant. xvi. 5. 3.

in the plain without[1],—probably the plain at the confluence of the three valleys,—a hippodrome[2], (unless this be taken as identical with the amphitheatre,) the three towers, Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamne, on the northern brow of the Upper City, and his own royal palace.

The theatre is described to us by Josephus as having been most magnificently decorated with representations of the victories of the Roman emperor, and with trophies: and both these, and the sports of the amphitheatre, gave the greatest offence to the Jews. The position of the theatre is unknown. The hippodrome is incidentally mentioned by Josephus as being on the south of the temple[3].

With regard to the three towers, they seem to have been partly constructed for the fortification of the Upper City in its weakest part; for the valley on the north side of the hill (the very existence of which has of late years been much disputed) was considerably less deep than on the other sides, and it was necessary to render this part of the wall (which was at this time uncovered by any exterior wall) secure against attack. Named to perpetuate the memories of Herod's friend Hippicus, his brother Phasael, and his beloved wife Mariamne, these three towers are said by Josephus to have exceeded in magnitude, beauty, and strength, all that the world could produce[4]; and in the destruction of the city by Titus, they were spared as memorials of the splendour and strength of the city[5]. The very fact that they should have been so admired by the Roman general, may be taken as a proof of their classical architecture

[1] Jos. Ant. xv. 8. 1.
[2] Jos. Ant. xvii. 6. 5.
[3] Jos. B. J. ii. 3. 1.
[4] Jos. B. J. v. 4. 3.
[5] Jos. B. J. vii. 1. 1.

The tower Hippicus was twenty-five cubits[1] both in length and breadth; and the first thirty cubits of its height were a solid mass of stone. Above this was a reservoir for rain water, twenty cubits deep; and again above this, a house of two stories, twenty-five cubits high, divided into various apartments. The parapet and battlements rose together to the height of five cubits, making the whole height of the tower eighty cubits. The tower of Phasael was of a more ornamented character than Hippicus, and presented the appearance of one tower placed upon another and rising from its centre. Its base was a square of forty cubits, and its entire height was ninety cubits; the first forty being solid. The tower Mariamne was still more ornamented, but was considerably smaller in size. Its base was a square of twenty cubits; and its entire height was fifty-five cubits, of which twenty were solid. The apparent height of all three towers was increased by the position in which they stood: the wall itself being built on the brow of the hill, and the towers resting on a sort of crest which rose up in front of the hill to the height of thirty cubits. The stones of which the towers were built were of enormous size,—according to Josephus, twenty cubits in length by ten in breadth and five in depth; and were fitted together so imperceptibly that each tower seemed like a single rock that jutted up naturally, and had been polished by the hands of the artificer into its angular form.

Since the publication of Dr Robinson's Biblical Researches, it has been almost universally admitted that the north-eastern tower of the modern citadel of Jerusalem occupies the site of one of the towers of Herod; and one of the principal reasons for this view, has been

[1] The cubit of Josephus is probably the Greek cubit, which equals 1.517 Eng. feet. This will more clearly appear in a future chapter.

the belief that the massive stones of which the lower part is composed, are the actual remains of Herod's work. There is no known entrance to this lower part[1]: it has even been declared to consist of solid rock, merely cut into shape, and faced with masonry[2]. But the bevelling of the stones, which has been adduced as one of the proofs of their antiquity, seems to furnish evidence that they are not the original stones of Herod's tower: at least, if they be, it is difficult to understand how Josephus could have said that "they were fitted together so imperceptibly that each tower seemed like a single rock[3]." Besides which, one side of the existing tower is considerably longer than the other, while we are told that all Herod's towers were square. Yet that the rock on which this tower is built, was the *site* of one of Herod's towers, appears incontestable; nor is there any reason to doubt that the basement of rock, forty-two feet high, on which the whole citadel rests, is the crest of rock thirty cubits high, mentioned by Josephus[4].

The assignment of the site above described to the particular tower Hippicus, is a curious instance of the way in which even the most honest and sober-minded enquirers are sometimes led to overlook the most palpable flaws in the evidence which they bring forward in support of their theories. The three towers Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamne, although differing in size, were not essentially different in their mode of construction, and considered merely in themselves would be objects

[1] Robinson, Bib. Res. I. p. 456.

[2] Williams, Holy City, II. p. 16.

[3] Dr Robinson also says: "They are smaller than the stones of the temple-walls; and although like them bevelled, yet the rest of the surface is only roughly hewn. These two circumstances indicate a less massive, and less careful style of architecture." Bib. Res. I. p. 456.

[4] So Williams, l. c.

of equal interest. But it so happens, that in a topographical point of view, the tower Hippicus is by far the most important, inasmuch as it is employed by Josephus to mark the starting-point of the first and third walls. In his zeal to establish the position of Hippicus, as the basis of his further researches, it does not seem ever to have occurred to Dr Robinson to reflect, whether the existing tower might not equally well represent either of the towers Phasael or Mariamne; and setting out with the assumption that the measurements of Josephus were merely conjectural, he even went so far as to say that "after having carefully measured the existing tower, he found his former impressions with regard to its identity with Hippicus confirmed[1]," although his own measures of the existing tower far exceeded those given of Hippicus by Josephus. Yet the theory of Dr Robinson was for some time allowed to pass unchallenged, even by those who most desired to overthrow his conclusions. Mr Fergusson has the merit of having been the first to point out that the measures of the existing tower (56ft. 4in. by 70ft. 3in.) agree best with those of Phasael[2]. And if the identity of the *site* be all that it is desired to establish, and the present masonry be regarded as more recent than that of Herod, then though the length of the front of the existing tower must needs be approximately the same as that of Phasael, its side may have been carried further back, and so be larger than the side of the previous structure. There is then no reason for doubting that the measures assigned by Josephus to the tower Phasael are exactly correct. His measurements are given with great minuteness: nor are we justified in impeaching his accu-

[1] Robinson, Bib. Res. I. p. 456.

[2] This correction has, however, been overlooked by later writers as Ritter, and De Saulcy.

racy, unless we are able to convict him of exaggeration, of which, in the present instance, he is manifestly innocent.

With regard to the tower Hippicus, which has thus been displaced from its old position in the N.E. of the modern citadel, Mr Williams has shewn from the Ordnance survey, that there is no difficulty in supposing it to have occupied the site of the N.W. tower of the citadel, which also stands upon solid rock, and which is forty-five feet square,—thus approximately answering to the dimensions of Josephus[1]. To this conclusion no exception can be taken; and it is in every way probable that this north-western extremity of the rock would be selected by Uzziah for the tower which he built at the corner-gate, and which, as we have already seen, preoccupied the site of Herod's tower Hippicus.

The position of the tower Mariamne is a matter of greater uncertainty, as no traces of it have been discovered. Reasons connected with the position of Herod's palace render it probable that it stood not on the same crest of rock with the two other towers, but farther to the east, near the gate of Ephraim.

The new palace, built by Herod after the thirtieth year of his reign, and after his revenues had recovered from the draws that he had made upon them to soften the evils of the famine[2], was constructed, as might be supposed, with boundless magnificence, so that even the temple bore no comparison with it. It was completely enclosed within a wall thirty cubits high, and ornamented towers were distributed around it at equal distances, with spacious apartments, each capable of containing couches for a hundred guests. There was a whole ring of peristyles, or open courts, leading into

[1] Williams, Holy City, II. pp. 15, 16.
[2] Jos. Ant. xv. 9. 3.

each other in succession; and each peristyle was supported by a different order of columns. Two magnificent saloons were named, after Herod's patrons, the Cæsarium, and the Agrippium. Attached to the palace were also groves with long walks through them, ornamented with streams of water, bronze fountains, and dovecotes[1]. This palace was joined to the towers of which we have been speaking. Yet it can hardly be supposed to have stood, as has been commonly assumed, in the north-western corner of the Upper City[2]: and probably it was immediately connected with only the easternmost of the three towers, Mariamne. For first, in the conflagration during the intestine feuds that preceded the siege of the city by Titus, we are told that the fire began at the Antonia, passed onward to the palace, and consumed the roofs of the three towers, which would seem to imply that it reached the palace before the towers[3]; and secondly, Josephus speaks of one of the four western gates of the temple, as leading by the bridge or causeway into the palace; where it can only be the palace of Herod that is meant[4].

We may also with good reason ascribe to Herod the building of the Xystus, or covered colonnade, that intervened between the palace and the causeway. The term *xystus* in Greek denotes the covered stadium of a gymnasium, in which the athletes exercised during

[1] Jos. B. J. I. 21. 1; V. 4. 4.

[2] To anticipate a possible objection, I may observe that the mounds mentioned B. J. VI. 8. 1 were raised against the northern—not the western—wall of the city. In the case of Cestius, we are told that after taking Bezetha, he encamped (evidently within Agrippa's wall) against the Upper City opposite the palace: and it is not likely that he would encamp just in front of the rock on which Hippicus and Phasael stood. B. J. II. 19. 4.

[3] Jos. B. J. V. 4. 4.

[4] Jos. Ant. XV. 11. 5. The palace of Herod is in one passage called ἡ ἀνωτέρω αὐλή to distinguish it from the palace of the Asmonæans, which was occupied at the time by the younger Agrippa. B. J. II. 17. 6.

the winter: but there is no evidence whatever that the Xystus at Jerusalem was used for this purpose, and the name was probably bestowed upon it in place of a better, on account of its resemblance to the xysti of the Greek gymnasia. It was here that Agrippa the younger convened and harangued the people, when they were meditating war against the Romans[1]. We have indeed the mention in the Books of the Maccabees of the building of a gymnasium in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes[2], but it is improbable that it was so important or handsome a structure as we must suppose the Xystus to have been: and it is far more likely that the Xystus was erected by Herod as an approach to his own palace from the temple. The Greek xysti were one stadium in length; and perhaps the building of which we are now speaking at Jerusalem exactly corresponded to them in this respect.

The results of our investigations up to this point will enable us to picture to ourselves the city of Jerusalem such as it was in the days of our Saviour. The notices of the city in the New Testament are but few and scanty. The pool of Siloah and the tower of Siloah are already familiar to us—the pool of Bethesda will occupy our attention on a future occasion; but the principal scene of our Saviour's teaching in Jerusalem was the temple, and it is accordingly to the temple and its different parts that allusion is in the New Testament most frequently made. The buildings of Jerusalem no more furnished the language of prophecy, as they had done in the times of the Old Testament: she was already a condemned city, waiting but to fill up the measure of her guilt by crucifying the Lord of glory: she had in the days of

[1] Jos. B. J. II. 16. 3. [2] 1 Macc. i. 14.

her independence killed the prophets and stoned them which were sent unto her, and she was now for the last time refusing to suffer her children to be gathered together under the divine wings; and though her last and most magnificent temple had now been forty-six years in building, and though the city was, as it were, shining afresh for a brief season with the costly towers and structures of Herod, yet her fate was already at hand, and her house left unto her desolate[1].

The exact scenes of the several events in the life of our Saviour recorded in the gospels as having taken place in the city of Jerusalem cannot in general be determined. Nor can we easily believe that it is of any importance that we should know them. For the benefit of the successive generations of Christian pilgrims they have indeed been all conventionally fixed; but the traditions have from century to century varied with characteristic fickleness, and in the eyes of those best acquainted with their history, they have too often served rather to bring contempt upon the belief of the church than to illustrate the truth of the Bible. It will be sufficient for us here to speak of the place where our Saviour was brought before the Jewish authorities, and of that in which he was accused before Pilate.

The palace of the high-priest, in which our Saviour was examined before the Jewish council[2], was the subject of one of the earliest traditions of the Christians in Jerusalem: its site (for it was then no more) being noticed by the Bordeaux pilgrim (A.D. 333) on the hill of the Upper City[3]. It is however very doubtful whether this site exactly corresponded to the present

[1] Matth. xxiii. 38. Luke xiii. 35.

[2] Matth. xxvi. 57, 58. Mark xiv. 53, 54. Luke xxii. 54.

[3] Itin. Burdig. in Wesselingii Itinn. p. 592. "Paret ubi fuit domus Caiphæ sacerdotis."

House of Caiaphas, in the possession of the Armenians, situate just outside the city-wall, and north of en-Neby Dâûd; since we have no record of any church or other building to mark the spot, between the fourth and fourteenth centuries[1]. The tradition as recorded by the Bordeaux pilgrim may perhaps have really descended from days anterior to those of Constantine; nor is there any inherent improbability attaching to the site itself. In the days of Nehemiah indeed, the high-priest, as we have seen, dwelt on the western side of the temple-court; but this was not the case with Simon Maccabeus, who occupied the castle Baris, nor with the kingly high-priests of his line, who inhabited the palace known as the Palace of the Asmonæans. From an incidental notice of Josephus however it would appear that the house of Ananias, high-priest in the time of Gessius Florus, stood near the Asmonæan palace, on the eastern part of the Upper City[2]; and it is possible that this might have been his official residence.

With regard to the judgment-hall of Pilate[3], it is certain that the Roman governors who ruled Judea after the disgrace and banishment of Herod's son Archelaus, would appropriate to their own use those buildings which they found ready built to their hand; such as the castle Antonia, and the Palace of Herod. It has been usually supposed that the judgment-hall formed part of the former; but reasons of at least equal weight might be adduced for placing it within the latter. The Antonia, we find, was in charge of a special officer or phrurarch[4]; and this would imply that it was not the official residence of the governor. On the other hand,

[1] Robinson, Bib. Res. I. p. 359. Williams, Holy City, II. p. 514.

[2] Jos. B. J. II. 17. 6, noticed by Krafft, p. 165.

[3] Joh. xviii. 28, 33; xix. 9. Distinct from the common hall, or prætorium.

[4] Jos. Ant. XVIII. 4. 3.

we find the procurator Sabinus taking possession of the palace on the first departure of Archelaus for Rome[1]; and we are told expressly of Florus, that he took up his quarters there[2]. And when we read of Pilate placing his judgment-seat or bema in the Great Stadium[3], it can hardly be any other place than the Xystus that is meant: and it was probably at one end of this that the raised pavement, called in Hebrew Gabbatha[4], on which the bema stood, was fixed.

The oppression of the Roman governors was interrupted for three years by the reign of Herod Agrippa the elder, whose friendship with two successive emperors of Rome, Caius and Claudius, secured to him the possession of dominions larger than those which his grandfather had enjoyed. The only event in the history of this prince that it is necessary here to notice, is the building of the Great Wall of Jerusalem. The accounts which Josephus gives us of this work, (if they refer to the same,) are unfortunately at entire variance with each other.

In the history of Agrippa's reign in the Antiquities, the historian tells us, that "he fortified at the public expense the walls of Jerusalem which looked towards the New City, partly by increasing their breadth, and partly by raising their height; and he would have rendered them impregnable to all human attacks, had not Marsus, the procurator of Syria, written word to Claudius of what was being done, on which the emperor, suspicious of any attempt at revolution, at once ordered Agrippa to discontinue the work: which he did[5]."

[1] Jos. Ant. XVII. 9. 3.
[2] Jos. B. J. II. 14. 8.
[3] Jos. B. J. II. 9. 3.
[4] Joh. xix. 13. Gabbatha is derived from the root גבה "to be high."
[5] Jos. Ant. XIX. 7. 2.

On the other hand, in the description of the city in the Jewish War, we are told that "the wall was designed for the defence of the New City itself: that it was begun by the elder Agrippa, who, however, fearing that from the magnitude of the structure he might be suspected by the emperor of some designs of innovation and insurrection, desisted when he had merely laid the foundations. For had the wall been completed on the scale on which it was begun, the city would have been impregnable. The stones of which it was built were twenty cubits long and ten broad, and were fitted into each other in such a manner, that they could scarcely have been undermined with iron, or shaken by engines. The wall was ten cubits broad[1], and would have probably risen to a greater height, had not the enterprising spirit of its founder met with a check; so that, though the Jews afterwards zealously carried on the work, it only rose to the height of twenty cubits, which, with the parapet and battlements, gave a total elevation of twenty-five cubits[2]."

It is impossible to reconcile the great discrepancies of these two accounts; but they may be partly explained by a reference to the narrative of Tacitus. The Roman historian makes no mention of the interruption of the work, but tells us that owing to the prevailing avarice in the reign of Claudius, the Jews were able to purchase from the Roman authorities the right of fortifying the city; and that they accordingly employed the days of peace in making preparations for war[3]. Various political reasons may have induced Josephus to withhold all mention of the bribery that had been committed; and it is easily conceivable that there may have been circumstances which led him to conceal the

[1] Or, "was broadened 10 cubits"? δέκα πήχεις ἐπλατύνετο.

[2] Jos. B. J. v. 4. 2.

[3] Tac. Hist. v. 12.

transaction in different ways in his two great literary works.

The course of the new wall is, fortunately, clear enough. "It began at the tower Hippicus, whence it extended to the northern quarter to the tower Psephinus; it then passed opposite to the sepulchres of queen Helena; and reaching along through the royal caves, turned at the corner tower near what was known as the Fuller's Monument; and finally joined the old wall at the brink of the valley of the Kidron[1]." The foundations of the first part of the wall, as far as the tower Psephinus, where it turned eastward, have been traced by Drs Robinson and Schultz[2]: the latter even ventured to recognize in the remains the octagonal form of the tower Psephinus. This magnificent tower was seventy cubits high; and standing on high ground, it commanded a view of the Dead Sea and the regions of Arabia. Of the next points in the course of the wall we may defer mention for the present; but it is evident that the wall followed the course of the north brow of the hill above the Wâdy Yehôshâfât, and that the Fuller's Monument must have lain near the southward bend of that valley. The whole compass of the city after the building of this wall was thirty-three stadia.

Of the gates in this new wall, we only know that there was one adjoining the tower Hippicus[3], and one—probably the gate of the regular north road—opposite the sepulchres of Helena[4]; which last, it may be observed, were excluded by the wall[5]. In the same part

[1] Jos. B. J. v. 4. 2.

[2] Robinson, Bib. Res. i. p. 465. Schultz, p. 62. These remains are rejected by Krafft, p. 36. I am informed that within the last year parts of the foundations have been more clearly brought to light by the washing away of the earth about 40 yards outside the western wall of the present city.

[3] Jos. B. J. v. 6. 5.

[4] Ib. v. 2. 2.

[5] Ib. v. 3. 3.

of the wall were the Women's towers[1],—designed perhaps for the defence of the northern gate.

As in the case of the rebuilding of the walls by Nehemiah, so also in the erection of the wall of Agrippa, the language of prophecy received a sort of forefulfilment, declarative of the fulfilment yet to come. Jeremiah had said: "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that the city shall be built to the Lord from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner. And the measuring line shall yet go forth over against it upon the hill Gareb, and shall compass about to Goath[2]." The first of these two verses, as we have already seen, marked the northern enclosure of the old city; and we must evidently seek for the hills Gareb and Goath, outside the old enclosure, and over against it; consequently to the north of it. They must also have been situate within the tract enclosed by the two boundary valleys of Jerusalem, as otherwise they could not, by any extension of the city, be well brought within its limits. And further, as Jeremiah traces the course of the old wall from east to west, so we may reasonably assume that Gareb lay to the east of Goath. Under these circumstances we may venture to assert that Gareb was the hill, or the summit of the hill, which in later times was covered by the new city, Bezetha; and that Goath was the name of that high ridge or swell of land which stretches down from the high ground on the north-west of Jerusalem into the Christian quarter of the modern city. And thus of the wall of Agrippa we may say most accurately, that it went forth upon the hill Gareb, and compassed about to Goath. The word *gareb* denotes a leper[3]; and the hill Gareb is thus the hill of lepers, those afflicted with this disease being excluded

[1] Jos. B. J. v. 2. 2, 3. 3. [2] Jer. xxxi. 38, 39.
[3] גרב, "scabby."

from the city. The meaning of the name Goath is less certain: perhaps Krafft's view is the most plausible, according to which it signifies the place of execution[1].

Herod Agrippa was succeeded by a series of Roman governors, of whom two, Felix and Festus, come before us in the New Testament. Their government was generally of an oppressive character; but the Jews remained patient till the time of Gessius Florus: his tyranny drove them into final insurrection. The history of the war, and of the great siege of Jerusalem, it is not my design to relate at any length. The topographical notices given us by Josephus in his narrative of the events of the siege have been already in great measure worked up into the preceding discussions; and the plan of the city that we have thus drawn out will enable the reader of Josephus to trace the progress of the siege with clearness.

The first attempt of the Romans to take Jerusalem was in the campaign of Cestius, who having made himself master of the New City, or Bezetha, encamped on the north of the Upper City, opposite the Palace of Herod. It is said that had he at that time chosen to force his way in, he might at once have carried the city and terminated the contest. But from this he was diverted by some of his own officers. He subsequently made an attack on the northern quarter of the temple; and a terrible panic had already seized the insurgents within, and the city was on the point of being captured, when Cestius, ignorant of his own good fortune, suddenly drew off his troops, and abandoned the siege. The hand of God had thus twice manifestly interposed to prevent the war being brought to a close, and the city saved from destruction[2].

[1] He derives it from גוע, "to die by violence." Gesenius derives it from געה "to low."

[2] Jos. B. J. ii. 19. 4—7.

It was four years from the date of the campaign of Cestius, when Titus finally encamped before Jerusalem with four Roman legions and a strong body of native auxiliaries. The city was filled to overflowing with the numbers who had come from all parts of the country to keep the feast of the Passover. The two Jewish leaders, John the Gischalite, and Simon Bargiora, at deadly strife with each other, agreed in keeping a general surveillance over the inhabitants, and in putting to death as common enemies all who were disposed for peace, or who were suspected of an intention to desert. The dead bodies of those who had been killed in the intestine feuds lay piled in heaps through the streets, and the horrors of the siege were soon aggravated by the bitterest famine. The Jews thus suffered far more from the tyranny of their defenders, and from the want of food, than they did from the arms of the Romans. The outer wall was taken in fifteen days, and of the second wall the Romans became finally masters in nine days more. The next object of attack was the Antonia; but this was defended with such vigour by the Jews, who succeeded in destroying by a mine the first set of banks that the Romans had raised against it, that it did not fall till nearly two months after the second wall. The next month was consumed in the conquest of the temple, which Titus was so desirous to preserve, but which a Higher Power than his had doomed to destruction. The Romans now fired the whole of the Lower City, and prepared their banks for the assault on the Upper City, into which the tyrants had retreated. This might have proved almost impregnable, had the Jews still retained both the spirit and the strength to defend it: but when the battering rams had been brought to play on the walls, their courage failed them, and they fled; thus descending of their own accord from those towers,

against which no human efforts could have availed. It is said that Titus himself, when he entered the Upper City, exclaimed, "It was surely God who brought down the Jews from these fortifications; for what could human hands or engines have accomplished against these towers?"

For sixty years Jerusalem lay in ruins. Its history during that period is necessarily a blank, for the city can hardly be said to have existed. Whether any habitable abodes yet remained, and whether any of the Jews were still permitted to linger among the ruins, are matters on which we can only guess; for little dependence can be placed on the passing statements of Eusebius and Jerome who wrote after so long an interval. The Jewish writers relate, and their account is adopted by Jerome, who has however unfortunately confounded the events of the times of Titus and Hadrian, that the plough was drawn over the site of the temple as a sign of perpetual interdiction. Against this it has been urged that the Romans are not known to have ever observed this ceremony with respect to single buildings. But there is in this instance the less reason to doubt the substantial truth of the statement, since the Jews specify the name of the Roman, Turranius Rufus, by whom the ceremony was performed[1]. Meanwhile the spirit of the Jewish nation was still unsubdued; and the reign of Trajan was disturbed by Jewish insurrections in various parts of the Roman empire. The mind of Trajan's successor, Hadrian, was much occupied in devising means for keeping the Jews in subjection. One of the plans he determined on adopting was to rebuild Jerusalem, and to render it no longer a Jewish but a pagan city. Besides the moral effect that this measure might be expected to produce, the military

[1] Hieron Opp. VI. p 852. ed. Vallars.

advantages that it seemed to promise were great. The strength of the hill on which the city stood had been proved by experience; and if fortified afresh, and maintained by a Roman garrison, it might serve to keep in check the whole country. A military colony, consisting principally of veterans, was sent thither accordingly; the new Ælia Capitolina arose from the ruins of Jerusalem; and a heathen shrine of Jupiter was erected on the site of the temple of the living God[1].

The immediate effect on the Jews was the very opposite of that which had been intended. Indignant at the desecration of their sacred capital, they waited only for the departure of Hadrian from Syria, and then once more raised the standard of rebellion. The war was neither trifling nor short. The Jews early gained possession of Jerusalem; and their leader Barcochba struck coins on which he inscribed the announcement of its freedom. They probably held it for about two years. To its recapture by the Romans we have sufficient testimony; and the war, apparently after a further duration of about three years, was brought to a close by the taking of the stronghold of Bether.

Hadrian was now left at liberty to complete the building of his new city, which had been interrupted by the war. Subsequent writers speak of its having been utterly destroyed when it was recaptured by the Romans; but this is inconsistent with the known design of the emperor. There is good ground for assuming that the limits of Ælia were nearly the same as those of modern Jerusalem. We have already seen that the line of the modern north wall was formerly occupied by a wall of massive architecture, and that this could only

[1] Dion Cassius (Xiphilin's Epit.) LXIX. 12. See, for the whole of this period, Bp. Münter's "Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian;" translated in Robinson's Bibl. Sac. 1843, pp. 393 seqq

have been the work of Hadrian. From the passing remarks of Christian authors we also learn that the southern half of the hill of the Upper City was excluded from the walls, as at the present day[1]. The name Zion, which had already been erroneously assigned to the Upper City by the later Jews, was now more especially applied by some writers to the part outside the walls; in order, apparently, to make the existing state of things accord better with the language of prophecy[2]. Historical truth has often suffered from the mistaken piety of faithless believers, who have strained or invented facts to suit their own views of what ought to be. The word of God needs not to be vindicated by such means, which usually, perhaps invariably, tend only to obscure it.

Among the edifices erected by Hadrian in Ælia, the Paschal Chronicle specifies two market-places[3], a theatre, a mint, a tricameron, a tetranymphon, (the purpose of these is uncertain,) and a building which was at first called Anabathmi or The Stairs, but which afterwards received the name Dodecapylon. Hadrian also divided the city into seven circuits and appointed an amphodarch over each. Of most of the buildings the names of which are thus preserved to us, but little is known; and it would be a waste of time to enter into any speculations respecting them. The position of one of the

[1] See the references in Robinson, Bib. Res. I. p. 468.

[2] See Itin. Burdig. ed. Wesseling, p. 592; Arculf, in Early Travels, &c. pp. 4, 5; and Ludolf of Suchem, in Bibliothek des Lit. Vereins, XXV. p. 76: "Item non longe a templo domini versus meridiem *infra civitatem* est mons Sion, et est parum altior reliquo situ civitatis." Compare Benjamin of Tudela in Early Travels, &c. p. 84; and the Cippi Hebraici, ed. Hottinger, p. 42. The present Zion gate was so called as leading out of the city on to the assumed Mount Zion; and the Church of the Apostles (the present en-Neby Dâûd) was named the Church of Zion from the position that it occupied.

[3] δημόσια. The word can hardly mean *prisons* in this passage.

markets may be determined from the still remaining portal of Constantine's basilica which opened on to it: it must have occupied the site of the present bazaars. The Dodecapylon has without good reason been identified by Krafft with the former fortress Antonia[1]. It seems far more natural to understand it of the building now known as the Golden Gateway, standing in the eastern wall of the Haram esh-Sherîf. This structure, which is used as a Muhammedan place of prayer, presents externally a front of two Roman arches, now blocked up; and of the interior a modern traveller relates, "that a central row of noble Corinthian columns, and a groined roof, had once formed a stately portico of Roman workmanship[2]." The details of the architecture are however far from pure; and it is not easy to decide on architectural grounds, to what date the gateway ought to be assigned. It must be fairly confessed that its style does not agree with that of the other monuments of Hadrian's reign; but it is almost equally difficult to refer it to any other period[3]; and external evidence is, on the whole, in favour of its Hadrianic origin[4]. The erection of a propylæon or festal entrance

[1] Krafft, p. 78. Both he and Münter regard Anabathmi as the name of a building before Hadrian's time. But it was clearly the name given in Hadrian's own reign to the new edifice, and it had only been subsequently altered to Dodecapylon in the time of the compilation of the Paschal Chronicle.

[2] Bonomi in Robinson's Bib. Res. I. p. 437.

[3] Mr Fergusson compares the architecture of the Golden Gateway with that of Diocletian's palace at Spalatro: Essay, p. 98. I cannot presume to discuss the question with Mr Fergusson; but having examined the drawings side by side, I must profess my own inability to trace the resemblance.

[4] Mr Williams is inclined to identify it with the Beautiful Gate of the temple (Holy City, II. p. 357) and quotes the lines of the poet Prudentius (*cir.* A.D. 394),

> Porta manet Templi, Speciosam quam vocitarunt,
> Egregium Solomonis opus: &c.

But Prudentius is not known to have ever visited Jerusalem; and his calling the gate the work of Solomon is sufficient to shew that he knew nothing about it. The "tra-

to a new city was exactly the piece of vanity in which Hadrian would take delight; and the municipality of Ælia would readily come forward to compliment and to gratify their founder. A similar origin is assigned by Mure to the arch that divides the old city from the Hadrianopolis at Athens; and if the gateway were not erected by Hadrian himself, this would partly account for the comparative barbarism of the architecture. It was within the limits of the area of the present Haram that both Hadrian's shrine of Jupiter and his own equestrian statue stood[1]. The present floor of the Golden Gateway is several feet below the level of the Haram; it probably once formed an ascent on to it; and no more suitable appellation could be found for it than "The Stairs." The name Dodecapylon might have been subsequently bestowed upon it in allusion to the number of arches that it once contained.

The edifices of Constantine belong to the history not of Antient but of Christian Jerusalem. But a short notice of the attempt to rebuild the temple in the reign of the emperor Julian will properly bring our present chapter to a close. To restore the glories of the temple

ditions" cited by Mr Williams from later authors are evidently mere guesses of their own, and for the most part inconsistent with one another. Mr Williams acknowledges elsewhere (Memoir, p. 110) that the Beautiful Gate belonged not to the outer but to the inner temple-court: and in another passage (Holy City, II. p. 127. note 4) commends the pilgrim Kootwyk for refusing to believe in another traditional "Beautiful Gate" on the west side of the Haram, on the express ground that the utter ruin of the temple, and of the Beautiful Gate along with it, was well established by historical testimony. It may be easily calculated that neither on Mr Williams' theory of the position and extent of the temple, nor on any other theory that has yet been propounded, could the Golden Gateway have either faced the brasen altar, or stood in the centre of the eastern temple-wall: which is nearly conclusive that it could never have belonged to the temple at all.

[1] Hieron. Comm. in Isai. ii. 9: Comm. in Matth. xxiv. 15. Opp. IV. p. 37: VII. p. 194. ed. Vallars.

of Solomon was a design well worthy of a vain and ambitious spirit; and the success of the undertaking would have furnished a specious if not a valid argument against the truth of our Lord's predictions. The Jews were still animated by a spirit of bitter hostility towards the Christians; and Julian without difficulty enlisted their energies and their fanaticism in the project upon which he was bent. A number of Jews were brought together to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. They were ordered by the emperor to sacrifice; they refused: they pleaded that it was unlawful to sacrifice without the limits of their antient city[1]. The restoration of the temple was forthwith commenced; and Alypius, a heathen, and a faithful friend of the emperor, was appointed to superintend the work. As the old foundations were being uncovered, balls of fire broke forth and burnt and repelled the workmen; as often as they attempted again to approach, they were again driven back by the fury of the flame; and the undertaking was ultimately abandoned. Other prodigies are mentioned by the cotemporary and subsequent Christian writers, but the main fact rests on the unexceptionable testimony of the pagan historian Ammianus Marcellinus. The modern surmise that the interruption of the work was merely occasioned by the eastern expedition and death of Julian[2], stands in direct contradiction to the unanimous evidence of both the Christian and heathen authorities. The bursting forth of the fire has indeed in recent times been satisfactorily explained as the result of natural causes. The vaults beneath the temple-area, which had long been closed up, were probably filled with inflammable

[1] Chrysostom, De S. Babylâ 22. Tom. II. p. 574. ed. Montfaucon.

[2] See Gibbon, cap. XXIII. I presume some of the Jews take the same view of the matter; see Schwarz, A descriptive Geography, &c. p. 431.

air; and if a torch were applied when these were re-opened, a series of spreading flames and at last a violent explosion would be the necessary consequence. Yet while admitting the reasonableness of the solution, we must not forget the importance of the fact. The Christian believer will, in the discomfiture of Julian's attempt, at least recognize a salutary interposition of divine providence; and it is even hard to see on what principle the event can be regarded as other than miraculous. By a miracle is commonly understood whatever transcends the laws of nature so far as those laws or their ordinary effects are known to man. Is it then to be said that a most unusual and striking occurrence is not to be deemed miraculous, because the natural causes of the event have been discovered after the elapse of more than fifty generations? If we have ceased to wonder at the eruption of the flames, it at least excited the wonder of all who witnessed it: if to us the defeat of Julian's design be no more than an ordinance of God's controlling providence, it was at least to the whole of that generation, whether Christian, Jew, or heathen, a miracle. The flames accomplished their purpose as surely as if an angel had descended; the emperor's design was broken off; and those who would not submit to confess could at least hardly venture to deny that the work had been frustrated by the finger of God.

CHAPTER III.

ENVIRONS OF JERUSALEM.

WHEN our Saviour, within six days of His death, rode amid the welcomings and rejoicings of the multitude with triumph into Jerusalem, we are told that on coming near to the city, He beheld it, and wept over it, and prophesying of the destruction that should ere long overtake it, said, "The days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation[1]."

The first part of this prophecy may be said to have received its perfect fulfilment, when, after the defeat of his first attempt upon the tower Antonia, Titus, in order to prevent the escape of any of the Jews within the city, as also the introduction of any supplies, determined to surround the whole with a wall of circumvallation: a work, which, through the industry of his soldiers, he accomplished in three days[2].

The course of that wall is described to us, with some details, by the historian of the Jewish war: and I propose in the present chapter to follow it all round the city, not so much for the sake of the interest attaching to the wall itself, as because it will serve the reader as a standard line of reference, and enable him the better

[1] Luke xix. 43, 44. [2] Jos. B. J. v. 12.

to trace the position of those different places and objects in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem which it is the design of this chapter to bring before his notice.

The wall of circumvallation was constructed after the fall of both the outer walls of the city. It thus cut across that part of Jerusalem which was known as Bezetha, or the New City, and did not take so wide a sweep to the north as the city-wall of Agrippa. Yet it did not trench upon the ground previously enclosed by the second line of fortification; and we shall therefore find it convenient, in speaking of the environs of Jerusalem, to define the extent of the city by its limits, such as they were either immediately before the Babylonish captivity, or in the days of our Saviour. The environs will thus embrace all those parts which were excluded either by the old wall of David, Solomon, and their successors, or by the second wall of Hezekiah and Manasseh.

The wall of Titus commenced at the place known as the Camp of the Assyrians, where the Romans themselves had also fixed their quarters; it was thence carried down to the lower New City; thence through the Kidron to the Mount of Olives; then with a southward turn it took in the mount as far as the rock known as the Peristereon, or Dovecote, and also the next hill, which overhangs the Valley of Siloah; and thence bending forth to the west it descended into the Valley of the Fountain; after which, ascending to the sepulchre of the high-priest Ananus, and cutting across the mount where Pompey had encamped, it turned northwards, and after proceeding as far as a certain village called the House of Erebinths, it subsequently embraced the sepulchre of Herod, and then ran eastward to the Roman camp from which it started. The wall itself was thirty-nine stadia long: and it was protected on

the outside by thirteen forts, which, if reckoned as part of the wall, would increase its circuit by ten stadia[1].

The place of the Camp of the Assyrians has already been approximately fixed[2]. It could not have immediately adjoined the valley of the Kidron; and it was sufficiently far removed from the second wall to be without the range of the Jewish missiles[3]. From some other incidental notices of Josephus, we may assume that the usual distance of an encampment from the city-wall was not less than two stadia[4]. It could not therefore have lain so far south as to come within the limits of the present city; nor could it have lain immediately outside the present north wall, between the precipice on which that wall stands and the cave to the north now known as the Grotto of Jeremiah; since the ground in that part is not suited for an encampment. It more probably occupied the level space to the north of the cave. It was after the capture of the outer wall that Titus moved his quarters hither; and with characteristic vigour, immediately commenced a series of attacks upon the interior line of fortification. The Jews under the command of their two leaders strenuously repelled the attacks. The party of John of Gischala fought from the Antonia, and from the northern cloisters of the temple, and also in front of the sepulchres of king Alexander Janneus; the share of the work that fell to the followers of Simon consisted in sustaining the assault near the sepulchre of the high-priest John, and in guarding the wall as far as the gate that adjoined the tower Hippicus. The sepulchre of John must clearly

[1] *καὶ τούτων οἱ κύκλοι δέκα συνηριθμοῦντο σταδίων.* I have given in the text what seems to me to be the most natural sense of these words: for it would be a strange way of describing the size of several distinct forts, to say that thirteen of their circumferences made ten stadia.

[2] See above, p. 93.

[3] Jos. B. J. v. 7. 3.

[4] Jos. B. J. v. 3. 5.

have stood to the north of the Upper City, and not far distant from the outermost wall; but its exact position cannot be determined[1]. The sepulchres of king Alexander have been identified with the Grotto of Jeremiah, which although it has been since used as a quarry, seems once to have served as a place of interment, and which must always have been a remarkable and well-known spot[2]. The principal objection that may be urged against the identification is the distance of this cave from the second wall. But the Jews, as we know, were not content to shelter themselves behind the fortifications; and the cliff to the south of the cave, and the houses with which the hill was covered, may, although lying without the wall, have still afforded the means for a protracted resistance.

From the Camp of the Assyrians the wall of circumvallation was carried down to the lower New City; by which can only be understood that part of Bezetha which is included by the modern wall and forms the present Hâret Bâb el-Hitta. Thence, probably a little to the north of the Upper Pool, the wall turned due eastward, and so crossed the valley of the Kidron which separated Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives[3].

The bed of the Kidron, although it lies at the bottom of a deep ravine, which is often spoken of as a valley by Josephus, is in Scripture almost uniformly designated not as the *valley* but as the *brook*[4]; a distinction of usage which it is important to observe. The Kidron itself is no more than a winter torrent; and such is the strict meaning of the Greek word which is applied to it in the New Testament[5]. Even in winter but little water is to be found in it except during the heavy rains; and

[1] See Jos. B. J. v. 6. 2; also 9. 2, 11. 4.

[2] Schultz, Jerusalem, pp. 36, 69.

[3] Jos. B. J. v. 2. 3.

[4] Not גיא but נחל.

[5] John xviii. 1, χείμαῤῥος.

only at intervals are any traces of a continuous water-course discernible. The meaning of the name Kidron, denoting *dark* or *blackish*, (or according to Gesenius, *turbid*,) is illustrated by a passage in the book of Job, in which the corresponding Hebrew participle is employed. The Kidron is one of these brooks "which are *blackish* by reason of the ice, and wherein the snow is hid: what time they wax warm, they vanish: when it is hot, they are consumed out of their place[1]."

The brook Kidron is repeatedly mentioned by name in the Old Testament[2]; and in the New Testament it is hallowed by its association with the adjoining garden of Gethsemane, the scene of our Saviour's agony and betrayal[3]. The enclosure known to the present day as Gethsemane is almost beyond question that mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome: there may be grounds for doubting, there are none for disputing, its identity with the Gethsemane of the evangelists. The very fact that the garden was designated by a specific name would tend to preserve in early Christian times a traditional knowledge of the locality[4]. The position of the present garden entirely corresponds with the notices in the Gospels; at most, the true Gethsemane could not have been far distant: and the enclosure, except so far as it may have been disfigured by the bad taste of its present possessors[5], undoubtedly conveys a faithful representation of the scene of the Saviour's agony. It lies a little to the east of the bridge which crosses the Kidron, leading from the eastern gate of the modern city to the

[1] Job vi. 16, 17.

[2] 2 Sam. xv. 23. 1 Kings ii. 37; xv. 13. 2 Kings xxiii. 4. Jer. xxxi. 40.

[3] Matt. xxvi. 36. Mark xiv. 32. Joh. xviii. 1.

[4] The name in Hebrew would be גת־שמן *garden of oil;* probably the place where the oil was pressed from the olives that grew on the mount. So Lightfoot.

[5] I insert this caution in consequence of some recent changes which the interior of the garden is said to have undergone.

summit of the Mount of Olives. The garden forms a square of about a hundred and fifty feet, surrounded by a low wall of loose stones: within stand eight venerable olive trees, remarkable alike for their size and their antiquity.

Jewish and Christian tradition from the days of Eusebius and Jerome has regarded the ravine of the Kidron as the Valley of Jehoshaphat of the prophet Joel; who employs the name with a reference to the etymological meaning of the word Jehoshaphat, *Jehovah judgeth*[1]. The Muhammedans have adopted the belief that here the final judgment will take place; and, with some variations, Wâdy Yehôshâfât has for fifteen centuries been the current appellation of the valley. The prophecy of Joel has reference to the ultimate spiritual triumph of the church and the overthrow of all her enemies; and in interpreting the prophet's language we must not confound the idea with the imagery in which it is clothed. But it can at the same time hardly be doubted that in the imagery which he employs, it is some definite valley which Joel has in view. What this valley is will be best determined by the language of the prophecy itself. "Assemble yourselves, and come, all ye heathen, and gather yourselves together round about: thither cause Thy mighty ones to come down, O Lord. Let the heathen be wakened, and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat: for there will I sit to judge all the heathen round about. Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe: come, get you down; for the press is full, the fats overflow; for their wickedness is great." Now while the position of the temple, the dwelling-place of the Lord, leads us to think of the eastern valley as the

[1] Joel iii. 2, 12, עמק יהושפט. See Onomasticon, art. Κοιλάς; also Itin. Burdig. p. 594, ed. Wesseling, and Hieron. Comm. in Joel. Opp. Tom. VI. p. 213, ed. Vallars.

valley of judgment, the allusion to the winepresses points rather to the vale of Siloah, in which, as we have seen, the king's winepresses stood; and the metaphor of the harvest conducts us yet further westward to the cornfields of the Plain of the Rephaim, where in olden time, before the days of the Israelites, the great battle between the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the Egyptians had probably been fought. This seems to shew that it is the whole of the valleys surrounding Jerusalem that the prophet has really in view, the ravine of the Kidron being partly though not exclusively intended. This conclusion is confirmed by the challenge to the heathen to gather themselves *round about;* and also by a subsequent verse in which it is not merely from Mount Zion but also from Jerusalem generally that the Lord is represented as uttering His voice[1].

To the east of the Kidron rises up the Mount of Olives. The summit or rather the central point of this hill is nearly due east of the Great Mosk of modern Jerusalem. It is marked by a wely, or tomb of a Muhammedan saint; but not much below the summit, and some three hundred paces to the west of it, is the Christian church commonly known as that of the Ascension. The entire hill is of considerable extent; and has been represented as having three distinct summits, of which the northernmost is nearly a mile to the north and the southernmost about three quarters of a mile to the south-

[1] By some the Valley of Jehoshaphat has been identified with the Valley of Berachah or Blessing of 2 Chron. xx. 26. See especially Jeremia Philadelphus, De valle Josaphat, in Ugolini Thesaurus, Tom. VII. This valley is associated with the history of king Jehoshaphat; but it was not the scene of the destruction of the enemy, only of the thanksgiving of the men of Judah, and therefore does not suit the description of Joel. Moreover it lies too far from Jerusalem, the Lord's seat. It is near Tekoa; and is still known as Wâdy Bereikût. See Wolcott's account of it in Robinson's Bibl. Sacra, 1843, p. 43.

west of the one already mentioned. The central portion of the hill has itself a sort of threefold character; and it is the northernmost peak of this central portion which is said to be strictly the highest point of the entire mountain. It stands about two furlongs to the north of the Church of the Ascension[1]. The hill is about 270 feet higher than the temple-mount, and 170 feet higher than the hill of the Upper City.

The Mount of Olives is once incidentally mentioned in the history of David; and even in his day, it bore that now familiar name[2]. It is on to the Mount of Olives that the Shechinah or Cloud of the divine Presence is represented by Ezekiel as retreating from the temple, after that the city of Jerusalem had been doomed to destruction for the sins of her inhabitants. From the same place, "from the way of the east," the Shechinah accordingly returns after the erection of the future temple[3]. From the Mount of Olives also the prophet Zechariah borrows the bold and striking imagery in which he depicts the final overthrow of the enemies of Jerusalem. "Then shall the Lord go forth, and fight against those nations, as when He fought in the day of battle. And His feet shall stand in that day upon the Mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem on the east, and the Mount of Olives shall cleave in the midst thereof toward the east and toward the west, and there shall be a very great valley; and half of the mountain shall remove toward the north, and half of it toward the south. And ye shall flee to the valley of the mountains;" (rather, "Ye shall flee by the valley of the mountains;") "for the valley of the mountains shall reach

[1] See Maundrell, in Early Travels, &c., Bohn's Series, p. 471. The point is traditionally known as "Viri Galilæi," having been fixed upon as the scene of the angels' address, Acts i. 11.

[2] 2 Sam. xv. 30.

[3] Ezek. xi. 23; xliii. 2.

unto Azal: yea, ye shall flee, like as ye fled from before the earthquake in the days of Uzziah king of Judah: and the Lord my God shall come, and all the saints with Thee[1]." The Azal, or as it might probably be more correctly written, the Ezel of this passage, perhaps the same with the Beth-ezel of the Book of Micah[2], seems to have been a village on the east side of the mount; the word *ezel* denoting *a side*. No traces of the village have been discovered. The earthquake to which Zechariah refers is mentioned also by the prophet Amos[3]; but we have in Scripture no historical account of it. The Jewish traditions of later times regarded it as part of the judgment upon king Uzziah for his presumption in usurping the priest's office. They are embodied in the writings of Josephus, who represents a mass of hill as having rolled from the mount on the south of Jerusalem, across the fountain En-rogel and the adjacent gardens, on to the hill on the east[4].

In the New Testament, the Mount of Olives and the village of Bethany are intimately associated with the records of the last few days of our Lord's life of suffering upon earth. It was His practice during these days, as it had been also on a previous occasion[5], to come into the city in the day-time, and to pass the night upon the mount[6]. Bethany itself, "the town of Mary

[1] Zech. xiv. 3—5.

[2] Micah i. 11. See Hengstenberg's Christology on Zechariah. Azal is only a pausal form. The place must not be confounded with the Ezel of 1 Sam. xx. 19: the names are in Hebrew differently spelt.

[3] Amos i. 1.

[4] Jos. Ant. IX. 10. 4.

[5] John viii. 1.

[6] Our Lord was at Bethany on the Sabbath preceding His passion. (John xii. 1) On the Sunday morning He made His triumphant entry into Jerusalem. (Matth. xxi. 1; Mark xi. 1; Luke xix. 29; John xii. 12.) He left the city for Bethany that same evening, and returned to it on the Monday morning; (Matth. xxi. 17, 18; Mark xi. 11, 12;) and again left for Bethany in the evening. (Matth. xxiv. 1; Mark xiii. 1; cf. Luke xxi.

and her sister Martha," where their brother was raised from the dead, stands in a shallow ravine on the eastern slope of the Mount of Olives, to the south-east of the central summit. The name Bethany may be regarded as the Greek form of Beth-hine, The House of Palm-dates, a place often mentioned by Jewish writers[1]. The modern Arabic designation of the village is El'âzarîyeh, The Place of El'âzar or Eleazar; the same who is known to us under the Greek form of the name as Lazarus.

The situation of Bethphage, the other place mentioned in the account of our Lord's entry into Jerusalem, is very uncertain. Eusebius and Jerome, in the Onomasticon, speak of it as a village on the Mount of Olives, but do not state whether it still remained in their day. But in his account of the travels of the Roman lady Paula, Jerome says distinctly that she visited Bethphage[2]. Sæwulf (A.D. 1102) speaks of it as on Mount Olivet, but tells us that nearly all traces of it had disappeared[3]. Sir John Maundeville (A.D. 1322) mentions it as three bowshots to the east of the church of St Mary the Egyptian[4]; a little to the east or south-east, consequently, of the summit of the mount, and probably in the same position which the monks still assign to it, half-way between the summit and the

37.) Of the events of the two next days we have no mention. On the Thursday, the first day of unleavened bread, our Saviour ate the passover with His disciples; and it was apparently on His way home to Bethany (Luke xxii. 39, "as He was wont") that He visited the garden of Gethsemane, and was there betrayed to the Jews.

[1] בית היני. See Lightfoot, Chor. Cent. cap. XLI. Others connect the latter part of the word with עני and render it "House of affliction;" or "House of depression," in reference to its situation. Hitzig finds mention of it in Isai. x. 30, where he needlessly takes עניה for a proper name.

[2] Hieron. Ep. CVIII. Opp. Tom. I. p. 701, ed. Vallars.

[3] Early Travels in Palestine, Bohn's Series, p. 44.

[4] Early Travels, &c. p. 177.

village of Bethany. There are no traces of a village in this position now to be found.

As if to compensate for the great uncertainty that hangs over the tradition respecting the site of Bethphage, we have frequent mention of the place in the talmudists; a source of information in this instance particularly valuable, because as Bethphage is not mentioned in the Old Testament, no suspicion can attach to the statements of the Jewish doctors respecting it. It will be advisable, however, in the first instance, to examine what can be established regarding Bethphage from the indications of the gospel narrative.

Our Saviour was on His way from Jericho to Jerusalem. The night preceding His entry into Jerusalem He had passed at Bethany. This, although not mentioned or even implied by the other evangelists, is asserted so distinctly by St John, that it does not admit of dispute[1]. Starting from Bethany in the morning, He sent two of his disciples into the village over against them, to fetch the colt on which He purposed to ride. That this village could not have been Bethany, which our Saviour had just left, is sufficiently obvious: that it was Bethphage, follows naturally from the narrative of St Matthew: "And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and were come to Bethphage, unto the Mount of Olives, then sent Jesus two disciples, saying unto them, Go into the village over against you[2]." We are thus enabled to establish with a moderate degree of certainty two points respecting Bethphage: first, that it was the name of a village; secondly, that it lay on or near the route that our Saviour took from Bethany to

[1] John xii. 1—12.

[2] Matth. xxi. 1, 2. *πρὸς τὸ ὄρος* should be rendered "*at* the mount," or "*on* the mount," as in St Mark.

Jerusalem. But then come the seemingly perplexing passages of the other two evangelists[1], in which Bethphage is mentioned before Bethany; St Mark's words being, "And when they came nigh to Jerusalem, unto Bethphage and Bethany, at the Mount of Olives;" while those of St Luke are, "And it came to pass, when He was nigh to Bethphage and Bethany, at the mount called the Mount of Olives." It is evident, however, that in this passage, equally with that of St Mark, we must understand the words "He was nigh" of the approach to Jerusalem; for we know from St John, that through Bethany our Lord had in fact already passed. The assertion therefore both of St Mark and St Luke is, that our Saviour was "*at* Bethphage and Bethany;" which can only mean that He was at a place where both those villages were in view: and thus the order in which they are mentioned is immaterial, and the placing of Bethphage before Bethany does not afford any reason for doubting the truth of our previous conclusion, that of the two, Bethphage lay nearer to Jerusalem. And as St Luke makes subsequent mention of our Saviour's arriving at the descent of the Mount of Olives[2], we may conclude that even Bethphage was further from Jerusalem than the top of this descent, and therefore that it lay either on the summit of the ridge, or else on the eastern slope of the hill.

To turn now to the talmudists[3]. In the tract Baba Sanhedrim, we have mention of the Sanhedrim sitting in Bethphage: in the tract Pesachim, we have a decision to the effect that by "without the wall" in a particular case is not meant "without the wall of the court," but "without the wall of Bethphage:" in the same tract it

[1] Mark xi. 1. Luke xix. 29.

[2] Luke xix. 37.

[3] The following talmudic notices are borrowed from Lightfoot, Chor. Cent. cap. XXXVII: on which see Relandi Palæstina, art. Bethphage.

is decided that the passover is to be killed for a prisoner singly, "if he be within the walls of Bethphage:" and in the tract Menachoth it is said that the two loaves (offered at the feast of Pentecost) and the shewbread might be baked "either in the court, or in Bethphage." In all these cases, and in some others, the gloss notes that Bethphage was the outmost place in Jerusalem. This explanation, however, (at least if the Bethphage of the Talmud be the same with the Bethphage of the Gospels) it is impossible to accept; and the question suggests itself, whether the village of Bethphage on the Mount of Olives may not for certain particular reasons have been specially privileged in respect of the Jewish law?

For the Christian Fathers are by no means silent respecting Bethphage: Origen telling us that the name signified the "House of Cheeks," and that it was so called because it was a sacerdotal town, and the cheeks of the sacrifice were by law the priest's portion[1]; and Chrysostom giving us in substance the same explanation[2]. And Jerome, although in his tract on Hebrew names he mentions Origen's derivation of the name Bethphage rather by way of rejecting it, yet himself apparently adopts it in two other passages of his writings, in one of which he states that the place was a small village belonging to the priests, and was situate on the Mount of Olives[3]. May it not be that Origen and Jerome had some better foundation for their statement that Bethphage was a sacerdotal town, than a mere far-fetched etymological guess?

There is no evidence, it is true, that any of the

[1] Origen. in Matth. cap. xx. See Deut. xviii. 3. The word פנא in Syriac denotes a cheek.

[2] Chrysost. Homil. xi. in Marcum.

[3] Hieron. de Nomm. Hebb. in Opp. Tom. iii. p. 89, ed. Vallars. Also in Epitaph. Paulæ, Tom. i. p. 701: and Comm. in Matth. xxi. Tom. vii. p. 159.

cities assigned in the days of Joshua to the Levites stood upon the Mount of Olives. The positions of three out of the four Levitical cities of the tribe of Benjamin are known: they certainly were not situate upon the mount, and besides, they have all three retained their Old Testament names to the present day. I allude to the cities of Gibeon, Geba, and Anathoth. Of the fourth Benjamite Levitical city, Almon, or Alemeth[1], nothing is known. But besides the Levitical cities within the borders of Benjamin, there was a city, consecrated by its having become, for a short period, the resting-place of the tabernacle, and specially mentioned in the history of those times as "the city of the priests[2];" the city of Nob. Although destroyed by Saul, it was afterwards rebuilt, for it is mentioned by Isaiah in his prophecy of the approach of Sennacherib; and from his language we may learn that it stood over against Jerusalem, and apparently on the Mount of Olives[3]. It was also standing in the days of Nehemiah[4]. But from that time the name disappears from history. The talmudists mention it in terms which tend to shew that they knew nothing of it except from the Old Testament[5]; Eusebius does the same[6]; in the days of Jerome it had already been erroneously identified with a village of somewhat similar name, six hours' journey to the west of Jerusalem; and the same mistake was also made by the crusaders[7]. Under these circumstances, I would suggest whether the Nob of the Old Testament, and the Bethphage of the New Testament and the Talmud may not have been one and the same place, and whether the fact of its having been the city

[1] Josh. xxi. 18. 1 Chron. vi. 60.
[2] 1 Sam. xxii. 19.
[3] Isaiah x. 32.
[4] Neh. xi. 32.
[5] See Lightfoot, Chor. Cent. cap. XLIV.
[6] Onomast. art. Νομβά.
[7] See Robinson, Bib. Res. III. p. 64. Hieron. Opp. I. p. 696, ed. Vallars.

of the priests in the days of Saul may not have retained for it the special ceremonial privileges of which the talmudists speak? And though it should be thought from the passage in Isaiah that Nob stood on the northern part of the Mount of Olives, may it not still have been near the more northerly road from Bethany to Jerusalem, which passes northward of the central summit of the mount? The change of name from Nob to Bethphage need occasion no difficulty; and we may observe, by the way, that the appropriateness of the latter name (which denotes, according to the most approved etymology, the "House of Green Figs") is remarkably illustrated by the account of the cursing of the fig-tree on the road from Bethany to Jerusalem[1].

The Mount of Olives is specially mentioned in the gospel narrative as the place where our Saviour discoursed to His apostles of the approaching destruction of Jerusalem, of the coming of the Son of Man, and of the end of the world. It was the afternoon of the day succeeding that of His triumphant entry into the city: as they were departing from the temple, His disciples had drawn His attention to the magnificence with which the temple had been built, and had been assured in reply, that of those great buildings there should not be left one stone upon another, that should not be thrown down. It was not till they had crossed the Kidron, and were seated "upon the Mount of Olives, over against the temple," that four of the apostles ventured privately to ask for further information respecting the approaching desolation. Nothing can be conceived more natural than that in the ages succeeding the destruction of Jerusalem the Christian should have sought to gaze upon the ruins which evidenced the fulfilment of our Lord's prophecy from the very same mount on which the pro-

[1] Matth. xxi. 19. Mark xi. 13.

phecy itself had been delivered. Eusebius, in one of his early works, written before the journey of the empress Helena to Jerusalem, speaks of the many pilgrims who came up from all parts of the earth, to worship on the Mount of Olives, where the Incarnate Word had, on the very summit of the mount, taught His disciples the mysteries concerning the end, and had thence ascended into heaven[1]. We learn also from this passage that a particular cave on the top of the mount had already been fixed upon as the scene of our Lord's discourse; although the words of Eusebius do not necessarily imply that the spot had been also regarded as the exact place of our Lord's ascension. Some ten years from the date when this account was written, the church whose ruins still exist was erected over the cave, as a memorial of the Ascension, by Helena the mother of the emperor Constantine. In subsequent ages the Ascension itself was declared to have taken place from this spot; as centuries rolled on, the belief became more strongly rooted; nor does the comparatively late origin of the tradition appear till very recently to have been noticed or even suspected[2]. And accordingly by one class of writers great stress has been laid on the received site of the Ascension as demonstrating the worthlessness of traditionary evidence; while on the other hand the defenders of the traditions have attempted to vindicate the accuracy of the popular belief by endeavouring to shew that the language of Scripture does not necessarily imply that the Ascension took place at Bethany.

The account of the Ascension given us in the Gospel of St Luke is as follows. "And He led them out as far as to Bethany, and He lifted up His hands, and blessed them.

[1] Eus. Dem. Evang. VI. 18, p. 208.

[2] It was first pointed out in an article on the "Holy Places" in the Quarterly Review, Vol. XCIII.

And it came to pass, while He blessed them, He was parted from them, and carried up into heaven[1]." On the other hand in the Book of Acts St Luke speaks of the apostles returning unto Jerusalem from Mount Olivet, without specifying any particular spot on the mount. Those who are imperfectly acquainted with the position of Bethany have thus imagined that the Ascension may have taken place on the homeward journey: Bp Taylor for instance, in his Life of Christ, speaks of our Saviour coming with His disciples to Bethany, and from thence to Mount Olivet. And it has been suggested that St Luke's expression, "*as far as* to Bethany," may be intended to denote the extent of circuit or visitation of beloved places, through which He passed scattering blessings, ere He departed. But it can hardly be denied that the more obvious conclusion from the words of the Gospel is, that the village of Bethany[2], or its immediate neighbourhood, was the scene of the Ascension. Bethany was itself on the mount; and to the less definite language of the Acts of the Apostles we have an exact parallel in St Luke's narrative of the events of Passion-week, where he says that at night Jesus went out, "and abode in the mount that is called the Mount of Olives," although we know that our Saviour was really living in the village of Bethany[3]. The specification in the Acts of the distance of a Sabbath-day's journey by no means refers to the exact space over which the apostles walked, but is only intended, as every careful reader of the original text will see, to describe to a foreigner the general position of the mount.

Nor is there any ground for asserting that the empress Helena and those who acted with her either

[1] Luke xxiv. 50, 51.

[2] The theory that Bethany and Bethphage may have been the names of districts has already been refuted by implication.

[3] Acts i. 12. Luke xxi. 37.

overlooked the Scripture narrative of the Gospel of St Luke, or placed the scene of the Ascension away from Bethany. In his Life of Constantine the historian expressly avoids implying that the church that was erected was intended as more than a *memorial* of the Ascension; while yet he distinctly states that the cave over which it was built was held to be the *scene* of our Lord's prophetic discourse. His words are as follows: "Besides building the Church of the Nativity, at Bethlehem, the mother of the sovereign also raised up in magnificent structures, upon the Mount of Olives, the memorial of the heavenward journey of the Saviour of All, by rearing up a holy chamber for prayer and more than this, a complete temple, high up on the ridge, close to the summit of the entire hill; where a true tradition affirms that the Saviour of All did within the very cave initiate His worshippers into the unutterable mysteries[1]". And to the same effect is a previous passage in the same work, and also one in the Panegyric upon Constantine, where Eusebius (ascribing the building of the churches in this instance to the emperor, instead of to Helena) tells us that "he adorned three mystic caves in Palestine with costly edifices, to the cave of the first manifestation of the Godhead assigning a mark of honour corresponding to the event of which the cave had been the scene, while over the next he reared, on the ridge of the hill, the proud memorial of the last assumption into heaven, and over the intermediate cave raised up a monument of the salvation-giving victory that crowned the Saviour's whole earthly conflict.[2]" Indeed any one who will peruse with due care this complex piece of rhetoric, can hardly fail to perceive an

[1] Euseb. Vit. Const. III. 43.

[2] Euseb. Laud. Const 9; see also Vit. Const. III. 41. In both passages τῆς ἀναλήψεως is the genitive after μνήμην.

intimation that the Church of the Ascension had purposely been built over the Cave of the Prophecy, not in order that it might mark the spot of the Ascension, but that it might stand on the top of the mount; nor was it unnatural that Helena and those who accompanied her, ignorant as they must have been of the exact ground that had last been trodden by the Redeemer's feet, should prefer bidding their church point upwards from the hill-top to the heavens whither He had disappeared, rather than place it out of sight in the secluded vale of Bethany. We have however yet further testimony that the Church of the Ascension was not designed to mark the exact scene of the event from which it derives its name. The Bordeaux pilgrim, who visited Jerusalem a very few years after the church was built, and whose very ignorance renders him in this instance a valuable witness, because we may be sure that he gives us the popular, not the learned view of the matter, makes no mention at all of the Ascension, but simply says that you ascend from the valley "to the Mount of Olives, where the Lord taught His apostles before His passion. A Basilica has been erected there by the order of Constantine[1]."

It may be readily conceived, how easily the church which had been originally intended only as a memorial of the Ascension would come to be regarded as occupying the very spot from which our Saviour ascended; and there can be little doubt that the later tradition with respect to the place of the Ascension presents in its origin a close parallel to many of the traditions of the Romish church respecting the minor holy places, which were probably at first merely established "as memorials, or altars, for the purpose of fixing the succession of leading events more certainly in the memory," but which

[1] Itin. Burdig. ed. Wesseling. p. 595.

afterwards "came by an easy transition to be considered as having been placed upon the very spots upon which each event happened." And perhaps no more signal proof could be adduced of the general fickleness of ecclesiastical tradition than the fact, that having transferred the scene of the Ascension from Bethany to the summit of the mount, it subsequently proceeded to shift the scene of our Lord's prophecy from the cave which had received such honour from Helena and the pilgrims of her day to another part of the hill[1].

We have now touched upon most of the Scripture associations of the Mount of Olives; but it still remains for us to dwell for a short time on those singular monuments that stand at the foot of the mount, opposite the south-east corner of the city-wall, but cut off from it by the bed of the Kidron, whose origin no antiquarian has been yet able satisfactorily to explain. I allude to the so-called Tombs of Absalom and Jehoshaphat, the Cave of St James, and the Tomb of Zechariah. Such are the names by which these monuments are now usually known; but as they have hitherto proved a stumbling-block alike to the most credulous of pilgrims and the most learned of travellers, it can be no matter of wonder that the names assigned to them by different writers should have greatly varied. The picturesqueness of the whole group has naturally rendered them a favourite subject for the pencil, and most of those who have perused any of the recent illustrations of the East, are probably familiar with their general appearance. They stand in the precipitous face of the rock, in the narrowest

[1] See the references to Pipin (A.D. 1320) and subsequent authors in Tobler, Siloahqu. u. Oelberg. p. 230. Whether Arculf (A. D. cir. 700) in speaking of the "celebrior ecclesia ad australem (?) Bethaniæ partem in eo loco montis Oliveti fundata in quo Dominus ad discipulos sermonem habuit" intended our Saviour's last prophetic discourse, is perhaps doubtful.

part of the ravine, immediately over the bed of the brook. Two of them—those that bear the names of Absalom and Zechariah—are monoliths cut out of the solid rock with a passage left round them: the others are merely excavations with ornamented portals[1]. The northernmost monument, that of Absalom, consists in the lower part of a solid mass of rock about twenty feet square, with a pilaster of an anomalous character at each corner, and Ionic columns between the pilasters: the frieze and architecture of the entablature above are Doric, the metopes are occupied by circular disks or shields, the cornice is more in the Egyptian style. This lower story is surmounted first by a square, and then by a circular attic, and above this is placed a roof resembling a horn in shape, and thus corresponding to the name which the natives give to the monument, Tantûr Farâûn, the "Horn of Pharaoh." The monolith only extends to the Egyptian cornice; the parts above being built of masonry. Behind this monument, at the north-eastern corner of the passage that surrounds it, is the entrance to the excavation known as the Tomb of Jehoshaphat. The various chambers of which this excavation is composed do not present the appearance of sepulchres; and the principal apartment might, from the mortar and the fresco paintings with which its walls are covered, be rather supposed to have served for a Christian church. On the other hand, the Cave of St James, which is situate in the face of the rock, to the south of the Tomb of Absalom, consists of a series of chambers of manifestly sepulchral character: the porch or vestibule is about ten feet in height by eighteen

[1] These monuments are fully described by Prof. Willis and Mr Williams from the drawings of Mr Scoles, and also by Dr Tobler (in his Siloahquelle und Oelberg) principally from his own observations. From these sources I have drawn the description in the text.

in width, and is decorated with four Doric columns with a regular entablature, cut in the solid rock, and fronting the west. The architecture of this portal is purer than that of the other monuments. The Tomb of Zechariah, which stands a little to the south of the Cave of St James, does not differ materially in design from the Tomb of Absalom; but it is surmounted by a pyramid instead of a horn, and this pyramid is itself hewn out of the same rock with the lower part, so that the whole monument is strictly monolithic.

The first step towards determining the origin of these remarkable monuments, would be to settle the date to which the architecture that adorns them is to be referred; but owing to the strange way in which the different Greek orders are here intermingled not only with each other, but also with the imitation of the Egyptian models, this is no easy task. The architecture has been compared with that of some of the tombs of Petra; but this comparison does not serve to throw much light upon the subject, since we are nearly as ignorant of the age of the monuments at Petra, as of those in the valley of the Kidron. One of the most recent of modern travellers, M. De Saulcy, has, with more boldness than discretion, maintained, that "hybrid monuments of this description may very easily happen to be anterior to the period when the Greeks perfected the separation of the elementary principles upon which they constituted their classic orders, by borrowing from all the monuments which fell under their eyes such of those components as seemed to harmonize in a greater degree, so as to form one united assemblage that henceforth remained homogeneous[1]." But to suppose that the most antient architecture thus exhibited all the later orders in a state of combination, is in truth as unreasonable as it would be to maintain that the primeval

[1] De Saulcy, Journey, II. p. 230. Eng. Transl.

language of man was a compound of all the different dialects of modern Europe. The more sober judgment of Dr Robinson proposes to refer the monuments either to the times of the Herods or else to that of Hadrian[1]. Of these two dates the earlier is for several reasons the preferable. The barbarism displayed in these specimens of architecture is essentially different from that displayed in the Golden Gateway. In the latter case we have merely an imperfect imitation of the classical model; in the case before us we have the intermingling of the classical architecture with foreign elements; and we are hardly justified in referring so corrupt a style either to Hadrian himself or to the colonists of Ælia. On the other hand there is no difficulty in supposing that these tombs may have been the work of the Jews of the Herodian age, who would be likely from the classical structures of Herod the Great to have gained some knowledge of the Grecian architecture, without being thoroughly able to enter into the spirit or to appreciate the purity of it. Could we then discover in the records of that period any notice of the construction of any remarkable tombs in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, there would be a strong probability that the existing monuments in the valley of the Kidron were the very tombs intended.

Now just such a notice we have in the gospels. In that last solemn denunciation of the Scribes and Pharisees for their hypocrisy, delivered, apparently, within the precincts of the temple and therefore in full view of the valley of the Kidron, our Saviour uttered these words: "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous[2]." If the tombs

[1] Robinson, Bib. Res. I. p. 521.

[2] Matth. xxiii. 29. Luke xi. 47. The discourse ended, we are told that Jesus went out, and departed from the *temple*. Matth. xxiv. 1.

and sepulchres of which our Saviour spake were those which we still behold standing in the valley, on the cliff of the brook, nothing can seem more natural than that He should have pointed to them, and thus have increased the force of His words by adducing the very monuments on which His hearers were gazing as proofs of the hypocrisy He was upbraiding. And we may justly conclude that the tombs and sepulchres which the Jews had thus been building and garnishing were richly and sumptuously executed; for they were intended as marks of honour to the prophets and righteous men long since departed, and it would hardly have been in keeping with the character of the Jews to have rendered such memorials other than conspicuous, nor would they probably, in any other case, have called forth so strong a censure from our Saviour. In all these respects, therefore, there is good ground for supposing that the existing monuments of the Kidron were the very same to which our Lord referred.

Let us now enquire how far our theory respecting these monuments is borne out, or supported, by early tradition. The first and therefore the most important notice respecting them is that of the Bordeaux pilgrim, who speaks of "two monuments of extraordinary beauty, of which the one is monolithic, and forms the resting-place of the prophet Isaiah, the other that of king Hezekiah[1]." It is impossible that any moderately well informed person could have supposed either of the monoliths to have been the tomb of any of the kings of Judah, and it is highly probable that the pilgrim, who, as we have already seen, was not very learned or precise in his Hebrew names, confused the name Hezekiah with one of similar sound, such as Zechariah. Bishop Arculf mentions a tower of Jehoshaphat, containing his

[1] Itin. Burdig. ed. Wesseling. p. 595.

tomb, by which he evidently intends one of the monoliths[1]; but as the name Jehoshaphat was clearly borrowed from that of the valley, his narrative throws but little light on the subject. The excavated sepulchres he describes as those of Simeon the Just, and Joseph the husband of Mary; names which Sæwulf seemingly transfers to the two monoliths[2]. Benjamin of Tudela speaks of the pillar erected on Absalom's place, and of the sepulchre of king Uzziah[3]; which latter name may have come to him through the Franks and have been a mere corruption of Isaiah. At the present day, the monoliths, as has been already stated, usually bear the names of Absalom and Zechariah. The general application of the name Zechariah to one of these monuments, a name which occurs in the narrative of Sir J. Maundeville[4] (A.D. 1322), gives countenance to the conjecture that the "Hezekiah" of the Bordeaux pilgrim is merely a corruption of it. With this emendation, there is no reason why we may not accept the pilgrim's names as the true ones, and regard the monoliths as cenotaphs of Isaiah and Zechariah, hewn out by the Jews in the days of our Saviour; for by "building the tombs of the prophets" can hardly be understood anything more than forming cenotaphs to their honour. The cenotaph of David at Bethlehem is a proof that such things were not unknown in Jewish times. And the view that we have taken of these monuments will furnish us with a very simple solution of a well-known Scripture difficulty. Our Saviour told the Jews that all the righteous blood shed upon the earth should be avenged upon that generation, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias whom they slew between

[1] Early Travels in Palestine, Bohn's Series, p. 4.
[2] Ibid. p. 42.
[3] Early Travels, &c. p. 84.
[4] Ibid. p. 176.

the temple and the altar[1]. In consequence of the mention of Barachias as the father of Zacharias, the latter has by some been identified with the written minor prophet who bore that name. Others have thought that our Saviour may have prophetically alluded to the subsequent murder of a Zacharias the son of Baruch, recorded by Josephus in his History of the Jewish War[2]. Yet in spite of all the difficulty occasioned by Zechariah being called the son of Berechiah, the place of his martyrdom, between the temple and the altar, seems to leave little room for doubt that Zechariah the son of Jehoiada, who rebuked the people for their sins in the days of king Joash, is the person really intended. Why then, it may be asked, should our Saviour specially mention this Zechariah as the last of the series of prophets that had been persecuted and slain? The answer is obvious. He mentions him, because it was his cenotaph that the Jews had just been building, and which was standing there in full view; He mentions him not as the last who had been slain, but as the last whom the Jews of that generation had been affecting to honour. Our Saviour's denunciation of woe against the Jews was purposely couched in terms which should most forcibly bring home the charge of hypocrisy and sin to the consciences of those whom He was addressing.

Of the two excavations which appear to have been known to the early pilgrims as the Sepulchres of Simeon the Just and of Joseph, it is easy to conceive that the Sepulchre of Joseph might pass into the Sepulchre of Josaphat; and as the cavern which now bears this appellation must necessarily have been formed subsequently to the construction of the tomb from the passage of which it opens, and as there is no proof that it was ever used as a sepulchre, we may pass over it without

[1] Matth. xxiii. 35. Luke xi. 51. [2] Jos. B. J. iv. 5. 4.

further notice. But the Cave of St James, which we may assume to be the same that the early pilgrims call the Sepulchre of Simeon the Just, demands a little more attention. Its present designation I find first occur in Maundeville's Travels. That the cave has no real connexion either with Simeon or with James seems hardly to need proof; but yet it can hardly have been the result of mere caprice, that the cave should have been first assigned by the pilgrims to Simeon, and specially by this title, Simeon *the Just*, and then transferred to St James who is also distinguished by the title *the Just* in ecclesiastical history. The probable explanation is, that the cave was known among the Jews, and subsequently among the Syrian or Arab natives, as the "Sepulchre of the Just;" and thus the Christian pilgrims on hearing the name, would readily suppose that under the title of "the Just," the Simeon or the James of the New Testament was intended. The term *Just* among the Jews corresponded in some measure to the term *Saint* amongst Christians: it was the title by which the Pharisees canonized the pious dead whose memories they desired to reverence: and there can thus be no ground for hesitation in identifying the so-called Cave of St James and its façade of Doric columns with the Sepulchres of the Righteous or the Just (in Greek and Hebrew the words are the same) which the Pharisees had decorated in our Saviour's days, and to which He referred when He uttered His denunciation of woe upon them. The distinction between *building* the tombs of the prophets and *garnishing* the sepulchres of the righteous receives its perfect explanation in the fact that the tombs of the prophets were cenotaphs which the Jews of our Saviour's days had entirely hewn out, while the sepulchres of the righteous were a set of previously existing and strictly sepulchral chambers

which they had merely adorned by forming the portal before the entrance; and the minute accuracy of our Lord's expressions, which (if I may say so with reverence) might have appeared excessive had He been speaking of some distant objects, will seem completely natural, and is on that account deeply interesting, when we remember that He and His hearers were at the time gazing upon the monuments of which He was speaking.

This view of the origin of these monuments is supported alike by the evidence derived from their architecture, by the language of the gospel narrative, and by the earliest Christian traditions. A greater concurrence of proof of the most various kinds could hardly be desired in favour of any theory respecting them. Some persons will perhaps experience a feeling of regret at being thus obliged to consign to the regions of fiction the connexion of any of these monuments with the name of Absalom. The affecting manner in which the Jews of the present day express their abhorrence of Absalom's rebellion by casting filth, as often as they pass by, at what they regard as his pillar, will impress many with a feeling of belief in the truth of their tradition. But this tradition cannot be traced back beyond the travels of Benjamin of Tudela in the twelfth century, and is therefore of no great weight. There are probably but few who will venture to copy the boldness of M. De Saulcy, and assign the architecture of the so-called Tomb of Absalom to the reign of David: and though we should adopt the theory of Mr Williams and others, and suppose that the ornamentation of the monolith was the work of a subsequent age to that of its construction, how could we reconcile ourselves to the belief that the Jews would at any of the later periods of their history have decorated the rebel's monument which they now treat with such scorn? The memorial of Absalom

mentioned in the Second Book of Samuel, the pillar which he reared up for himself in the king's dale to keep his own name in remembrance[1], was, as we learn from the paraphrase of Josephus, constructed of marble, and was distant two stadia from the city[2]. But the words of Josephus do not necessarily imply that the monument still existed in his time; nor would his language describe with any great preciseness either the form, the material, or the distance from Jerusalem of the monolith whose real origin we have been considering[3].

The wall of circumvallation of Titus, which was to guide us in our survey of the environs of the city, is described as taking in the Mount of Olives as far as the rock known as the Peristereon or Dovecote. The exact meaning of the phrase "taking in" is by no means clear. From an incidental account of an assault upon this part of the wall by the Jews we may gather that the wall stood at a considerable height above the valley[4]; yet it can hardly be supposed that it would be carried farther up the hill than the nature of the ground may have rendered necessary. The rock Peristereon has been variously identified with the many-niched sepulchral labyrinth situate in the ascent of the hill, and traditionally known as the Tombs of the Prophets, and with the precipitous cliff adjoining the monuments that last engaged our attention[5]. The former theory commands applause by its ingenuity, but the latter is by far the more probable. And that the Jews were familiar with the image of dove-tenanted rocks is shewn by a passage of Jeremiah: "O ye that dwell in Moab, leave the cities,

[1] 2 Sam. xviii. 18.

[2] Jos. Ant. VII. 10. 3.

[3] Rabbi Schwarz (p. 205) makes nearly the same observation: the tomb is "neither a column, nor is the material marble." And F. Fabri in the 15th century writes nearly to the same effect.

[4] Jos. B. J. VI. 2. 8.

[5] Schultz, Jerusalem, p. 72; Williams, Memoir, p. 106.

and dwell in the rock, and be like the dove that maketh her nest in the sides of the hole's mouth[1]." The next hill, overhanging the Vale of Siloah, is clearly the southern portion of the Mount of Olives, traditionally known as the Mount of Offence, from its having been regarded as the scene of Solomon's idolatries[2]. From this hill the wall of Titus is described as bending forth to the west and descending into the Valley of the Fountain. By this has generally been understood the upper part of the Wâdy en-Nâr, near the Well of Job (Bîr Eyûb). But we can hardly suppose that all the rich and fertile tract at the junction of the three valleys would be left in possession of the Jews; especially when we know from Josephus that the line of circumvallation was drawn so close to the city that the besieged were unable even to gather herbs[3]. By the *Fountain* too, when no name is mentioned, is uniformly intended the fountain of Siloah; and the Valley of the Fountain and that of Siloah are thus one and the same. Its limits have been already determined; and the wall of Titus probably ran close to its mouth. Neither of the appellations occurs in Scripture; but the former may be found, where we should hardly have sought for it, in the hieroglyphical list of the names of the places conquered by Pharaoh Shishak, on the north external wall of the palace at Karnak[4].

The Bîr Eyûb, or Well of Job, lying further south, has been universally and correctly regarded as the

[1] Jer. xlviii. 28.

[2] 1 Kings xi. 7. 2 Kings xxiii. 13. In the latter passage we have the name "mount of corruption," in the Vulgate "mons offensionis." The limitation of the name to the southern portion of the Mount of Olives is merely conventional.

[3] Jos. B. J. v. 13. 7.

[4] We have there in succession, Kingdom of Judah (meaning probably the royal city), Hinnom, and נחל-עין Valley (or Brook) of the Fountain. See Osburn, Ancient Egypt, p. 160: the author recognized the two former, but noted the last as unknown.

En-rogel of the Old Testament, the lurking-place of David's spies when Absalom was master of the city, and the scene of the subsequent conspiracy of Adonijah[1]. There is also an earlier mention of it as one of the points in the boundary line between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin[2]. For the last two or three centuries the well has been known among the Franks as the Fire-well or Well of Nehemiah, in allusion to the account in the Second Book of Maccabees, where it is fabulously related that the sacred fire was concealed in a dry well by the Jewish priests before the captivity, was extinguished by the rise of the water, and was subsequently miraculously recovered by Nehemiah[3]. The name Wâdy en-Nâr or Fire-valley as applied to the valley in which the well is situate appears to be still more recent. The Jews of the present day call the well by the name not of Job but of Joab[4], and not without reason; for Joab was the principal partisan of Adonijah in his attempt on the throne, and the scene of the conspiracy might not inappropriately receive its name from him. Unfortunately the name of Job is found connected with the well as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, while that of Joab first appears in a Jewish tract of the middle of the sixteenth; the author of this tract observing that the well was called the Well of Job by the Gentiles. The name Joab has been adopted in the modern Greek Προσκυνητάριον or Pilgrim's Guide-book, but it has doubtless only been borrowed from the Jews, since the Greek Christians of the beginning of the fifteenth century knew the well as that of Job. And it is on the whole more probable that the Well of Job would be emended by the Jews into the Well of Joab, than that the Well of Joab would be corrupted by the Arabs

[1] 2 Sam. xvii. 17. 1 Kings i. 9.
[2] Josh. xv. 7; xviii. 16.
[3] 2 Macc. i. 18—36.
[4] See Schwarz, p. 239.

into the Well of Job[1]. Others besides the patriarch of Uz have borne the latter name. There was one, Abu Eyûb, a companion of Muhammed, who took part in the wars of the first khalifs, and fell in the first Arab siege of Constantinople; and his memory is still preserved in that city by the mosk that is called after him[2]. Another Job was the father of the sultan Salah ed-Dîn; and from him the Well of Job might have readily received its title. After having been long stopped and lost, the well had been recovered by the Franks a few years before their expulsion from Jerusalem. It was again filled up by them when the Saracens marched against the city, but was doubtless soon reopened by Salah ed-Dîn[3]. It can be no matter of surprise if the sultan named the well after his father, from whom the patronymic Eyûbite or Jobite descended to all the sultans of the race. And it is curious that the name Joseph of the sultan himself (for Salah ed-Dîn was but an honorary title) should still attach to a well that he dug at Cairo[4]. Yet perhaps the name Well of Job may have had a still simpler origin. The Arabic word *job* means a well: the term may have been confounded with the name of the patriarch by an Englishman, Frenchman, or Italian, and have been subsequently translated back into Arabic as Eyûb. The well is more than 120 feet deep; and in the rainy season the water frequently overflows.

To the west of the Well of Job rises the Jebel Kubûr, or Hill of Tombs, the southern boundary of the Valley of the Son of Hinnom. The eastern crag is

[1] Cippi Hebraici, ed. Hottinger, p. 48. See generally Tobler, Topogr. II. pp. 50 seqq. The name Bîr Eyûb is found in place of En-rogel in the Arabic version of the Book of Joshua printed in the London and Paris polyglotts; but of the date of this version nothing is known.

[2] Gibbon, cap. LII.

[3] See Williams, Memoir, pp. 55, 56.

[4] Gibbon, cap. LIX.

probably the Stone of Zoheleth, or Serpent-rock, mentioned in the history of the conspiracy of Adonijah[1]. This hill seems to have formed for a long succession of ages the principal necropolis of Jerusalem. Many of the sepulchres, which it must evidently have required very considerable labour to excavate, shew by their Greek inscriptions that they have been the resting-places of the Christian dead; yet they were probably in the first instance of Jewish formation, and were subsequently appropriated by the Christian inhabitants of the city for their own use. Two of them deserve particular notice, in consequence of the antiquarian interest attaching to them. The first of these, near the north-east corner of the hill, is a whited sepulchre, adorned on the outside with a Doric pediment, much overgrown, and till lately almost entirely concealed from view, in which Mr Wilde found sculls of all the three great families of the human race; and thence concluded, with great probability, that this was the true place of the Aceldama, or Field of Blood, originally the potter's field, which was purchased by the Jewish chief priests with the money that Judas had received for betraying his Lord, and was set apart by them as a place of burial for strangers[2]. The other grave of interest is within the *traditionary* Aceldama, and lies to the west of the former; and it has been accurately explored and described by Dr Schultz, who arrived at the conclusion that it must have been constructed about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, and that it was probably the tomb of some distinguished person of that age: and he accordingly identified it with the sepulchre of the high-priest Ananus, one of

[1] 1 Kings i. 9. Schultz, Jerusalem, p. 79.

[2] Matth. xxvii. 7. Acts i. 18, 19. See Wilde, Narrative of a Voyage, &c. II. pp. 341 seqq. The author, an Irish physician, devoted particular attention to the sepulchres both in Syria and elsewhere.

the points mentioned by Josephus in his description of Titus' wall of circumvallation[1].

This identification of the Sepulchre of Ananus (and even should the grave in question not be that of Ananus, it is certain that he must have been buried somewhere on this hill) has been adduced by Mr Williams as a happy confirmation of the authority of the tradition which designates the ruins on the top of the hill as those of the country-house of Caiaphas, in which the bargain with the traitor Judas is said to have been struck; Ananus being in fact none other than Annas the father-in-law of Caiaphas, before whom our Saviour was brought to be examined[2]. But those who reflect that this tradition has not been traced back to an earlier period than the fifteenth century, will perhaps hesitate before they accept the tradition on the strength of the coincidence, which may, after all, be quite accidental. And if a country-house is to be assigned either to Annas or to Caiaphas (although the very existence of a country-house is an unnecessary assumption), I am surprised that those who have fixed so minutely the scene of every event to which there is even the slightest allusion in the Scriptures, should have overlooked the claims of a neighbouring village, the very name of which would have given countenance to their theory. About three miles to the north-west of Jerusalem, at the head of a considerable valley, called after it, stands a village which still bears in Arabic the designation Beit Hanîna—House of Ananus or Ananias[3]. That it should be so

[1] Schultz, Jerusalem, pp. 39,72.

[2] John xviii. 13. Williams, Holy City, II. p. 496.

[3] Hanîna seems to be merely a Syriac or Arabic form for Ananus or Ananias. A person of this name, the son of Thardion, was burnt by Hadrian's orders at Bether. Gemara, tit. Sanhedr. I. 14 (ap. Basnage). This and the kindred names furnish excellent examples of the different Hebrew appellations which were all formed from the same root, and which to a certain extent were

called from having been once the residence of a Jewish high-priest is by no means improbable, since not more than a few miles distant is another village bearing the name of another high-priest—Beit Ûnia, the House of Onias. It might indeed, though with less probability, by a change of letter of which there are other instances, be regarded as the village Ananiah mentioned in the Book of Nehemiah[1].

The Valley of the Son of Hinnom, or of the Children of Hinnom, called more shortly the Valley of Hinnom, and now known as the Wâdy er-Rabâby, which sweeps round the Upper City of Jerusalem and divides it from the Hill of Tombs, is familiar to every reader of the Bible by the infamous celebrity it acquired as the scene of the worship of Moloch, so that its very title was used among the later Jews to denote the place of everlasting punishment[2]. It is first mentioned in the book of Joshua as forming part of the boundary line between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin[3]. The reign of Manasseh, which is specified even by the prophet Jeremiah as the principal cause of the subsequent wrath of God upon the Jews[4], was probably the first to witness the introduction of the heathen abomination of passing children through the fire to the honour of the

regarded as identical, and therefore interchangeable. The root Hanan means "to give graciously," and as a name refers to God's mercy in granting a child to the parents. It frequently occurs as a proper name in the Old Testament. In Punic it becomes Hanno: in Greek, Annas or Ananus, names which are both used of the same high-priest. With El (God) affixt, we have Hananeel. With Jehovah affixt, we have Hananiah (Gr. Ananias); for which Hanani is perhaps a short form. With Jehovah prefixt, it becomes Johanan; transformed, in other languages, into Johannes, Giannes, Giovanni, Jean, and John. On the subject of Hebrew names generally, see Lord A. Hervey's work on the Genealogies of our Lord, especially cap. VI.

[1] Neh. xi. 32. The name of this village is spelt not with ח but with ע.

[2] Matth. v. 22, and Chaldee paraphrase of Isaiah xxxiii. 14.

[3] Josh. xv. 8; xviii. 16.

[4] Jer. xv. 4; cf. xxxii. 35.

idol; and the spot where these rites were performed was named by an Assyrian word, Tophet, or the place of burning[1]. This spot was purposely defiled by the pious Josiah, and the idolatrous practice interdicted[2]; but the short-lived reformation under his reign was not sufficient to avert the anger of the Lord, who declared that the Valley of Hinnom should thenceforth be known as the Valley of Slaughter, and that they should bury in Tophet till there were no more room to bury. The burial of the dead bodies in the valley had indeed probably commenced when the idolatrous burnings were introduced, since Jeremiah, in prophesying of the future restoration of Jerusalem, already speaks of the Valley of Hinnom as the "Valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes[3]."

We traced the Roman wall of circumvallation as far as the Sepulchre of Ananus. From this point it cut across the mount on which Pompey had encamped, which must either be the Hill of Tombs itself, or the knoll to the north-west; it then turned northwards, and ran by the village known as the House of Erebinths. This village may have occupied the site of the modern ruined hamlet Abu Wa'ir; or still better, of the village which once surrounded the little Greek church of St George, and which is described by Mejîr ed-Dîn under the name Deir Abu Tor[4]. The wall subsequently *embraced* the Sepulchre of Herod: from which expression

[1] Jer. vii. 31; xix. 6 seqq. Compare Isaiah xxx. 33, (written before the setting up of the Jewish Tophet,) where the word תפתה is used not as a proper name, but in its original sense of a place of burning, and with allusion to the destruction of the host from whose language it was borrowed.

[2] 2 Kings xxiii. 10.

[3] Jer. xxxi. 40.

[4] Mejîr ed-Dîn XXII. 37, in Appendix to Williams' Memoir, p. 162. The Convent of which the Church forms part was known, he tells us, in antient times as the Convent of Mar Kaibûs. This may also be read Mar Kîbûs: it is probably a misrendering of Ἅγιος κῆπος, The Holy Garden.

we may perhaps conclude that the wall took a somewhat wider sweep in this part. Josephus speaks of the Sepulchres of Herod, in the plural number, in another passage[1]; and as Herod himself was not buried at Jerusalem at all, it is not likely that there would be more than one set of tombs at Jerusalem bearing his name. We may therefore regard the "Sepulchre of Herod" and the "Sepulchres of Herod" as identical.

These sepulchres are described as adjoining the Serpents' Pool; and their position may be satisfactorily determined by due attention to the passage in which they are mentioned. On advancing against the city Titus had originally pitched his camp on the hill Skopus, so called from the prospect of Jerusalem that it commands, and on which probably stood the village of which Josephus elsewhere speaks, known as Zaphah or the watch-tower[2]. He subsequently determined to remove nearer to the city; and accordingly ordered his troops to level the whole intervening space between his camp and the city-wall. This order they executed by felling the trees, filling up the hollows, and cutting away the crags, so that the whole tract of ground from the Skopus to the Sepulchres of Herod was rendered smooth and even. It is evident from this account that a line drawn from the Skopus to the Sepulchres of Herod must have run not perpendicular but parallel to the city-wall. And that the sepulchres lay not to the due south but to the south-west of the Skopus is also evident from this, that we manifestly cannot suppose the descent into the northern portion of the Wâdy Yehôshâfât (called in this part Wâdy el-Jôs) to have been the ground which Titus is said to have levelled. These considerations strongly confirm the view of Dr Schultz, that the Sepulchres of Herod are none other than the exten-

[1] Jos. B. J. v. 3. 2. [2] Jos. Ant. xi. 8. 5. Σαφά.

sive catacombs at the head of the Valley of Hinnom, about 3000 feet west of the west gate of the city; and with this identification all becomes clear and simple. The Serpents' Pool is the present Birket el-Mamilla; Herod's Sepulchres face it, and almost adjoin it; the line from the Skopus to the sepulchres runs nearly parallel to the city-wall across the high ground to the north-west of the city; and we have a proof of the precision of the language of Josephus when he says that "the wall of circumvallation proceeded northwards *as far as* the House of Erebinths," since it is easily seen that at the House of Erebinths it must have struck westward to enclose the sepulchres of which we have been speaking.

Perhaps this identification of the Serpents' Pool with the Birket el-Mamilla may enable us to explain the origin of the name Charnel-house of the Lion, by which the adjoining catacombs were designated in the time of the crusaders. It appears that in the old Latin version of Josephus made by Rufinus, as edited by Gelenius, we have, after the name Serpents' Pool, the words "which was formerly called Bethara:" (quod olim Bethara vocabatur.) It has been thought either that Bethara was a word inserted by Rufinus himself; or that it was in the manuscripts of Josephus which he used; or else that *olim Bethara* arose from a mere misapprehension of the Greek word κολυμβήθρα. Cardwell tells us that the word *colibethara* is to be found in some old editions of Rufinus, and that the alteration of this into *quod olim Bethara* is the work of his editor Gelenius. But however this may be, it seems not improbable that those who had got hold of the word Bethara as applied to the pool, would resolve the name into the Hebrew words *beth ari*, House of the Lion, and apply it to the adjoining tombs.

From the Sepulchres of Herod the wall of Titus ran eastward to the Roman camp from which it started. And here therefore, having pursued it through its entire circuit, we take leave of it. But there are two places in the environs of Jerusalem that yet demand our attention.

The first of these is the magnificent series of excavations known as the Kubûr el-Mulûk or Tombs of the Kings. They lie considerably to the north of the circuit we have been following, just south of the Wâdy el-Jôs, and a little to the east of the road leading to Nâblûs and Damascus. The most complete description of them is that which has lately been given us by De Saulcy[1]; and although the brilliancy of his argument may fail to convince us of the soundness of his theory respecting their origin, the accuracy of his description may at least be welcomed as a genuine contribution to antiquarian science. A sloping trench, 32 feet in width, running eastward between two walls of rock, gives access, by a semicircular gate pierced in the eastern end of its left-hand wall, to a large sunken court about 90 feet square. The sides of this court are vertical, and are hewn smooth out of the solid rock: the floor has become uneven from the immense accumulation of rubbish. In the western wall is hollowed out a large portal, 27 feet in length, which was formerly supported by two extreme columns or pilasters, and also by two intermediate columns. Above and on either side of the portal the rock is adorned with carvings of exquisite taste and delicacy. This portal conducts into a vestibule, 39 feet long by 17 feet wide and 15 feet high; and in the southern wall of the vestibule is the entrance to the vaults, for-

[1] De Saulcy, Journey, II. pp. 134 seqq. Eng. Transl., which I have compared with the original. The measurements may be found in Robinson, Bib. Res. I. pp. 528 seqq.; and Tobler (Topogr. II. pp. 276 seqq.) is an invaluable guide to the accounts of previous travellers.

merly closed by an apparatus of curious intricacy. The round millstone or discus that formed the actual barrier to the entrance is described by writers of the 16th and 17th centuries; but it escaped the notice of succeeding travellers, till recently rediscovered by De Saulcy, who has the merit of having been the first to detect the machinery by which it was originally moved. Passing into the vaults, the traveller first finds himself in an antechamber, nearly 19 feet square; from which three doors, one in the western and two in the southern face, open into three several sepulchral chambers. The doors themselves, as well those leading out of the antechamber as that which hung at the interior extremity of the entrance into it from the vestibule, consisted of single planks of stone of nearly the same length and breadth as an ordinary door, and about six inches in thickness. They were all carved with panels; and their fragments still remain, scattered around. They each turned upon two tenons which were of the same piece of stone with the door itself, and which fitted into two sockets in the solid rock, the one in the lintel, the other in the threshold of the doorway. The three sepulchral chambers leading from the antechamber contain altogether eighteen sepulchral crypts, of which however five have merely been planned or marked out, and never could have received a human body. The crypts are arranged in the way most common among the Jews, with their lengths perpendicular to the sides of the apartments; and at the back of six of the crypts and at the sides of two more exist smaller crypts or recesses. Lastly, from two of the three sepulchral chambers there are openings into two undervaults, in one of which De Saulcy found the lid, in the other the fragments of a lid, of a sarcophagus; the latter most richly sculptured with flowers and wreaths.

M. De Saulcy maintains, with great confidence, that these are the sepulchres of David and of the kings of Judah; and the strength of his argument lies in the ingenuity with which he assigns the particular tombs to the several kings. He gives the one undervault, as the place of honour, to king David: the six tombs in the western chamber he assigns to Solomon, Rehoboam, Abijam, Asa, Jehoshaphat and Jehoram; with the proviso that the tomb of the last-named was prepared, but his body was never deposited in it. The recesses behind the crypts he supposes to have been designed for the reception of the treasures that were buried with the bodies. In the next chamber he assigns one tomb to Ahaziah, one, without any treasure-recess, to the high-priest Jehoiada, one to Joash, whose tomb was ready prepared though he was never buried in it; two tombs without recesses to Amaziah and Jotham, whom he supposes to have left no treasures behind them; and one unfinished and consequently unoccupied tomb to the leper-king Uzziah. In the third chamber M. De Saulcy finds a completed tomb for Ahaz, who must therefore, like Jehoram and Joash, have prepared his tomb, though he was not buried in it; two uncompleted tombs on either side of the last for Manasseh and Amon who were buried in their own garden; a completed tomb, with a treasure-recess, for Josiah; and uncompleted tombs for two of his successors. To Hezekiah, who was buried "in the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David," he assigns the other undervault.

That there is something at first sight very fascinating in the near agreement of the number of the tombs with that of the kings, and in the accordance of the places of the recessless and uncompleted tombs with the order of succession of the poor kings and of those who were privately buried, cannot be denied. Nor has it been

possible, in the short abstract that I have given of the scheme, to do fair justice to De Saulcy's most elaborate argument. Yet on nearer inspection, as might perhaps have been anticipated, much of the romance of the coincidences vanishes, and the comparative arbitrariness of De Saulcy's arrangement begins to appear. Thus when we come to the second and third chambers, which contain three crypts in a side, we find that to make the condition of the several crypts fall in with his scheme, he is obliged in each side to adopt the expedient of reckoning the central crypt first, instead of commencing from one end. But in the second side of the last chamber this resource fails him; and accordingly he here takes the side crypt first, in manifest inconsistency with himself. Then again when we examine the list of kings who had no treasures buried with them, we are led to ask why Jotham, simply because he spent considerable sums of money upon the temple, should be any poorer than Hezekiah or Josiah who did the same thing. These may perhaps be regarded as comparatively trifling objections. But further, De Saulcy explains that the several kings prepared their own tombs beforehand; how then can we allow that Solomon would be content to prepare for himself a tomb of so far inferior a kind to that of his father David? The supposition is at utter variance with everything that we know of the character of that splendour-loving monarch.

But the real objections to the whole theory are those derived from the topographical notices of the Scriptures. The Sepulchres of David were in the City of David; and they were also, as we learn from the account of the repairing of the walls by Nehemiah, not far from the Pool of Siloah. To the former objection De Saulcy replies by asserting that the City of David denotes the whole of Jerusalem; and for this assertion he found only

too much occasion in the laxity with which the City of David has been spoken of by preceding writers. Even were he right in this, it would hardly help his theory; for the Kubûr el-Mulûk must have been half a mile distant from the city of the days of the monarchy. To the necessary vicinity of the Sepulchres of David to the Pool of Siloah indicated in the Book of Nehemiah he is fairly unable to make any answer.

As the Kubûr el-Mulûk can thus not be regarded as of any direct scriptural interest, an investigation into their real origin may be deemed somewhat foreign to the purpose of the present volume. But the elaborate description and argument of De Saulcy have without doubt fixed the public attention upon them in a more than ordinary degree; the deserved popularity of his work entitles his argument to full consideration; and it may be thought that his theory is not fairly met, unless some full and satisfactory account can be given of the true purpose for which these remarkable excavations were undertaken. The prevalent though by no means the universally received opinion among recent scholars is that the sepulchres are those of Helena queen of Adiabene; and if one half of the literary world have been convinced by the arguments that have been already adduced in support of that view, there are good grounds for hoping that if those arguments can be materially strengthened and the principal difficulties removed, the question may be set at rest. And if in the course of the following digression I shall be able to shew that these sepulchres are of greater archæological importance than has been usually supposed, and that they may indirectly serve to throw light upon some points of sacred antiquities, no further apology will be needed for entering upon it.

The history of Helena is narrated by the historian

Josephus. She was the sister and wife of Monobazus king of Adiabene, the antient Assyria. Having after her husband's death been converted to the Jewish faith, she came to reside at Jerusalem, and distinguished herself by her generosity in distributing provisions to the citizens in the famine that occurred during the reign of the emperor Claudius. Her son Izates also, king of Adiabene, sent large sums of money to Jerusalem on the same occasion, for the relief of the inhabitants. After the death of Izates, his mother Helena returned to Adiabene, but she did not long survive him; and the bones both of mother and son were sent to Jerusalem by Monobazus the brother and successor of Izates, there to be deposited, as Josephus tells us, in the pyramids which the mother had prepared, three in number, and at a distance of three stadia from the city[1]. But that many more than three actual tombs were prepared by Helena or her relatives at Jerusalem seems highly probable. The family of Izates was large; he left behind him twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters, all of whom he excluded from the succession to the kingdom in favour of his brother; and many of them probably lived and died at Jerusalem[2]. Other tombs may have been necessary for Helena's courtiers; for the Jews undoubtedly looked with a jealous eye on the burial of foreigners in tombs adjoining their own, as indeed is proved by the mention in the New Testament of the purchase of the field of blood expressly as a place for the burial of strangers. Josephus speaks of the queen's train; and from the fact of her having a palace at Jerusalem, distinct from the hall of her son Monobazus, it is clear that she and her family lived at Jerusalem in considerable state[3].

The topographical arguments for the identity of the

[1] Jos. Ant. xx. 2—4.

[2] See Jos. B. J. vi. 6. 4.

[3] Jos. B. J. v. 6. 1, quoted above, p. 35, note 3.

Sepulchre of Helena with the Kubûr el-Mulûk have been fully adduced by previous writers. The sepulchre forms one of the landmarks by which Josephus describes the course of the third wall. After turning eastward at the tower Psephinus the wall stretched along opposite the Sepulchres of Helena, and pursuing its course through the royal caves turned southward near the Fuller's Monument[1]. The royal caves, through the middle of which the wall is described as passing, must on this very account have consisted of several distinct excavations; and under this name were probably included the many dilapidated sepulchres along the southern brink of the Wâdy el-Jôs to the east of the Kubûr el-Mulûk. The position of the latter will thus exactly agree with that of the Sepulchres of Helena. The three stadia, the distance of these last from the city, must clearly not be measured from the third wall, as they could not in that case have been well used as a landmark by which to describe its course. The construction of the tombs may perhaps have been commenced before the wall was completed; and in this case the three stadia would mark the distance of the sepulchre from the inhabited suburbs of the previous city. And as Eusebius speaks of the sepulchre as situate within the suburbs of the Ælia of his own day, it can hardly have been further north than the Kubûr el-Mulûk[2]. From another passage of Josephus we learn that the sepulchre was opposite one of the gates in the third wall; and by this gate the Jews sallied out to attack the reconnoitring party of Titus, when having approached Jerusalem from Gibeah of Saul with six hundred cavalry he turned off the straight road in the direction of the tower Psephinus[3]. No notice

[1] Jos. B. J. v. 4. 2. εἰσέτι νῦν στῆλαι διαφανεῖς ἐν προαστείοις δείκνυνται τῆς νῦν Αἰλίας.

[2] Euseb. Eccl. Hist. II. 12:

[3] Jos. B. J. v. 2. 2.

could accord more accurately with the position of the Kubûr el-Mulûk, which lie just to the east of the great northern road leading from Jerusalem to Nâblûs. In the same way Jerome, in the fourth century, in describing the travels of the Roman lady Paula, relates that on approaching the city from Gibeah she passed the mausoleum of Helena on her left[1]. And as Gibeah adjoined the great northern road, and was only between two and three miles distant from Jerusalem, there is no room for doubt that it was this northern road which Jerome had in his mind at the time he was writing[2].

But a more remarkable proof that the Kubûr el-Mulûk are the Sepulchre of Helena is to be found in the writings of the Greek traveller Pausanias, who incidentally mentions two sepulchres as deserving particular admiration, viz. those of king Mausolus in Caria, and of queen Helena at Jerusalem. Of this latter he says: "The Hebrews have in the city of Jerusalem, now overthrown by the Romans, a sepulchre of Helena, a woman of the country; and in this sepulchre there is a door, all of stone, like the sepulchre itself, which has been contrived so as never to open except once a year, at a particular day and hour; it then opens by the mere effect of the machinery, remains open for a short time, and again closes; a person who attempted to open it at any other time would break it in pieces before he would

[1] Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ, Opp. 1. p. 697, ed. Vallars. De Saulcy is in error when he represents Paula as coming directly from Joppa.

[2] See it proved in the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography that Gibeah stood upon the hill now known as Tell el-Fûl, and that the modern Jeba' represents the antient Geba. In a previous note (page 117, note 1) I have inadvertently assumed Robinson's earlier identification of Gibeah with Jeba', which he had subsequently abandoned. That note should be corrected accordingly; but the correction will not affect the argument. I have marked the places correctly in the map.

succeed[1]." Passing over for a moment the story about the door, we have, in the fact that the Kubûr el-Mulûk are by far the most remarkable sepulchre near Jerusalem now known, strong evidence of their identity with the sepulchre the fame of which had reached the ears of Pausanias.

Still it may be said that in all the evidence that has yet been adduced we have nothing that points with sufficient determination to the one individual excavation of the Kubûr el-Mulûk as the burial-place of Helena. Are there then any more definite marks by which the Sepulchre of Helena may be recognized? There are: Josephus, as we have seen, makes mention of three pyramids; then we have the wonderful door of Pausanias; and lastly Eusebius speaks of some fine stelæ by which the position of the tomb was in his day still pointed out. Here then are the true tekmeria, the infallible marks of Helena's sepulchre; and every one of these may be proved to have been a distinguishing feature of the Kubûr el-Mulûk.

To begin with the stelæ of Eusebius. The word *stele* was ordinarily used by both the older and the later Greeks to denote any monumental stone, post, or pillar; and it was thus applied, like the Latin *cippus*, to the grave-stones or grave-pillars which were set up over a tomb and inscribed with the name of the deceased. It was therefore perfectly natural to suppose that such was its signification in the passage before us. But the word also denoted (and this was without doubt its original meaning) an upright stone or post used as a prop or stay; and it would be most appropriately applied to any pillar, whether a pilaster or column, which was not constructed of masonry, but was hewn out of the native rock. The stelæ of which Eusebius speaks are there-

[1] Pausanias, VIII. 16; quoted by Robinson and De Saulcy.

fore the pillars that supported the vestibule of the Kubûr el-Mulûk, and which distinguished the exterior of this sepulchre from those of any of the other sepulchres about Jerusalem. To none of the other sepulchres about Jerusalem is there an entrance by a portal resting upon pillars, except only to the so-named Cave of St James, or as we may now call it the Sepulchres of the Just. The architectural adornment of the one may have possibly been suggested by that of the other. It may be asked, why should Eusebius characterize the Sepulchre of Helena only by the external appearance that it presented? The answer is obvious: the means of access to the interior were probably unknown to him, for reasons which we shall now proceed to explain.

For the second distinguishing mark of the sepulchre was the contrivance for closing the entrance related by Pausanias. De Saulcy's discovery of the apparatus which connected the passage leading from the vestibule into the antechamber of the Kubûr el-Mulûk has here fortunately enabled us to recognize the contrivance to which Pausanias alludes, and at the same time to determine the proportions of truth and fiction in his story. The entrance itself, it must be remarked, is low, and can only be passed on the hands and knees. De Saulcy's description of the method in which it was formerly stopped is as follows[1]: "A stone discus of considerable thickness, running in a circular trench, rested exactly against the gap; the movement of this heavy stone along the inclined plane produced by the groove in which it worked could only be effected by means of a lever pressing from right to left to open the entrance, and from left to right when it was intended to close it. In order to execute this double movement, it was necessary to reach the discus by a straight corridor, usually

[1] See Plate I. figs. 3, 4.

covered over with an enormous stone slab; the side ledges into which this fitted are still in good preservation. The corridor terminated in the one direction exactly at the entrance-gap, and in the other at a large well now nearly filled up with rubbish. It is evident that as soon as the covering slab was disengaged from the ledges on which it rested, the corridor became accessible; and with the aid of a lever to which the edge of the ledge itself formed the fulcrum there was then no difficulty in hauling up the discus, which was thus forced to move upwards to the left of the entrance along the inclined plane of the circular groove. In order however that the discus might move up, it was necessary previously to lift a second slab or flagstone, not so thick as the first, which rested on ledges parallel to the wall through which the entrance leads. As soon as the discus was thus taken over to the left-hand side, and firmly wedged up, the passage was free. To replace the discus in its original position, it was necessary to penetrate into a second corridor, hewn under the rock and intersecting the former at right angles almost directly against the brink of the well. This auxiliary corridor turned suddenly by a square elbow towards the wall of the vestibule, and led in a parallel line with the former straight corridor to a point where the lever could be applied to the left-hand side of the discus, thus forcing it again to descend and resume the position which it was necessary that it should occupy in order to close up the opening." All these arrangements still exist uninjured, except only that the two slabs have disappeared, and that the discus has been somewhat displaced from its vertical position in consequence of the carelessness with which it has been moved. The discus itself is nearly four feet in diameter; and the trench in which it ran is about four inches deep. The arrangements in front are

such that the discus cannot be removed out of the trench; and the travellers of the seventeenth century wondered how it came there. It was probably hewn on the spot out of the native rock.

There can be no reasonable doubt that this was the machinery of which Pausanias had heard; and indeed it is admitted by De Saulcy himself. His own discovery has thus added a strong confirmation to the theory that he rejects. It is hardly likely that any clock-work ever existed in connexion with the machinery; and the story of the clock-work may have merely been circulated in order the more effectually to preserve the secret of the true method of entrance. And it is probable that to the great majority of the public not only the method but also the place of entrance was entirely unknown.

We come now to the remaining index by which the Sepulchre of Helena is to be recognized; the pyramids mentioned by Josephus. On this subject great misapprehension has existed. It has been assumed that the pyramids of Josephus are the same with the stelæ of Eusebius, and that they were small pyramidal erections surmounting the sepulchre, such as we see among the tombs at Petra; and they have been compared with the pyramids which Simon Maccabeus raised over the sepulchre of his family at Modin[1]. The ingenuity of different writers has accordingly been exercised in endeavouring to find traces of these pyramids remaining, or in explaining how they stood. Schultz, who entirely misconceived the true position of Helena's sepulchre, identified it with some tombs to the north-west of the tower Psephinus, where he found three *heaps of ruins*, which he thought might *possibly* have come from the three pyramids that adorned the grave. De Saulcy, following in Schultz' steps, largely improves upon his

[1] 1 Macc. xiii. 28.

account, and without more ado speaks of the existing "bases" of the three pyramids as an established fact. Of those who identify the Sepulchre of Helena with the Kubûr el-Mulûk, Robinson supposes that the three pyramids were erected over the portal on the level ground above; while Krafft thinks that the division of the portal into three spaces by the intervening columns shews that the three pyramids stood upon the portal itself. Earlier writers were still more felicitous in settling the matter to their own satisfaction, by the convenient if not scientific process of misquoting and improving upon each other's assertions; Quaresmius misrepresented Villalpandus, Pococke improved upon Quaresmius, Châteaubriand put into more elegant language the statement of Pococke, till at last in the travels of Dr Clarke, who evidently misborrowed from one of the two latter, we find it recorded that Father Villalpandus had actually seen one of the pyramids at the Sepulchre of Helena still standing in his time,—the simple truth being that Villalpandus had never visited the east, and that there is no mention of any pyramid in connexion with the spot to be found in his writings[1]. After all this, we may venture to ask whether there is any instance on record of persons having set up their own grave-stones before their death, as all the writers whom we have quoted must necessarily suppose Helena to have done? No parallel instance has as yet been produced; and all have overlooked one simple circumstance, which, had due attention been paid to it, might have saved the waste of so much ingenuity, that Helena's pyramids did not stand over her sepulchre at all; for, as Josephus most distinctly asserts, she and her son Izates were to be buried *in* them.

[1] See this succession of blunders well exposed by Robinson, Bib. Res. I. App. Note XXVIII.

What then were these pyramids? Let us first clearly understand what a pyramid is. Those who know that the Arabs designate the pyramids of Egypt by the word *heram* and that the form of the article in the old Egyptian language is *pi* will hardly venture to deny the connexion between *pi-heram* and *pyramid.* By omitting the aspirate, which the Greeks were not able to preserve in the middle of a word, and affixing the Greek termination *is, pi-heram* becomes *pieramis;* and the difference between this and *pyramis* or πυραμὶς (in which the first vowel was pronounced like the French *u*) is scarcely appreciable. That πυραμὶς may have originally been a genuine Greek word, denoting a grain of wheat and so the sharp-pointed form of that grain, may indeed be fairly admitted[1]; and if so, the Greeks would only the more readily appropriate the word to designate those stupendous buildings of which they heard as pi-heram. Whatever then may be the precise meaning of πυραμὶς when regarded as a genuine Greek word, it must also as a Greek version of an Egyptian word bear an Egyptian meaning, the same as that of the Egyptian word from which it is derived. And there is no difficulty in presuming that it may be so used in the passage before us, since we know that Josephus was well acquainted with the Egyptian writings and Egyptian antiquities.

Every one is now familiar with the fact that the Egyptian pyramids were sepulchral buildings. In each case however the tomb itself was not situate within the building, but in the rock beneath. An inclined passage was hewn downwards in the solid rock, conducting either directly, or else by a succession of turnings and anterooms, to the true sepulchral chamber, which was

[1] Quarterly Rev. Vol. LXXVIII. p. 165.

destined for the reception of the royal sarcophagus[1]. Over the rock above was erected what we usually call the pyramid, in such a manner that the entrance to the rock passage, which always led in the first instance in a southward direction, was found near the centre of the base of the northern face of the masonry; and this was closed up so that the place of it might remain unknown. Other means of concealment were however employed in abundance. On descending the rock passage, the entrances to the rooms were guarded by stone portcullises; and the anterooms themselves were partly designed to deceive those who should attempt to violate the tomb. Thus for instance in the Third Pyramid, the visitor on descending by the rock passage penetrates through a small anteroom into a large apartment 46 feet long by 12 broad, at the further end of which he beholds a place cut for the sarcophagus, and probably one stood there formerly; but he is mistaken if he suppose this to be the real tomb; that lies concealed beyond. From this circumstance also it arises that the true sepulchral apartments do not all face in the same direction, although the entrance to the passage is uniformly from the north.

Which now is the essential part of an Egyptian pyramid, the rock chamber below, or the superstructure

[1] This is best illustrated by the case of the Third Pyramid of Gizeh, which is in point of construction the most perfect and the most interesting: and with this should be compared the plans of the smaller pyramids at the same place. See Vyse on the Pyramids, Vol. II. In the Second Pyramid the passage does not lead downwards so deep into the rock, but runs nearer the surface, and mason's work has in consequence been necessary to fill up a vacancy in the middle of the passage: see Quart. Rev. Vol. XIX. p. 201. The First Pyramid is an exceptional case, in consequence of the existence not only of subterranean passages and apartments, but also of the King's Chamber in the centre of the pyramid; but it is not certain that this latter was the principal chamber, or even that it was intended as more than a mere blind. Vyse, I. p. 223.

of masonry above? There can be but one answer: the tomb itself is the essential, the pile of masonry the accidental part; and it was without doubt to the former that the Egyptian term for a pyramid strictly applied. Amongst ourselves, no one can doubt that the grave is, strictly speaking, the dug pit in which the coffin is laid, although we may often in ordinary conversation loosely call by that name the visible mound of earth that is raised above it to mark the place. And this view is confirmed by etymological considerations. On the etymology indeed of the Egyptian or Arabic word *heram* we must not pronounce too positively. But it is probably of the same family of words with the Arabic *haram*, denoting a sanctuary, and also the harem or private apartment of the women, and with the Greek ἐρῆμος, *desert*, which has regained its initial *h* in the word *hermit* that we have derived from it[1]. The fundamental meaning in this family of words is that of something *set apart, isolated*, and we need hardly stop to point out the consequent applicability of the word *heram* to the secret sepulchral chambers of the pyramids. Of the etymology of the Hebrew word for a pyramid we may speak with a greater degree of confidence. That in Job iii. 14 the patriarch is alluding to the pyramids of Egypt seems

[1] This is De Sacy's etymology; though he adopts a different modification of meaning. The difference between the words *heram* and *haram* lies not, as might be supposed, in the first vowel, for this is in Arabic the same in both, but in the initial consonant, which affects the sound of the vowel. The fact that one word is spelt with the weak, the other with the strong *h*, can hardly be considered of much importance when it is recollected that the former word came into the Arabic language through the Egyptian; and although the antient Egyptians had themselves both the weak and the strong *h*, yet De Sacy shews that words which in one part of Egypt were pronounced with the one, were in another part pronounced with the other. See Magasin Encyclopédique, Tome xxxvi. pp. 446 seqq; where, and in De Sacy's Abd-Allatif, pp. 293, 294, the different etymologies of the word pyramid may be found.

hardly to require proof. The word employed is *haraboth*, the plural of *harbah*, which ordinarily means a desolation. But this sense is wholly inapplicable in the verse before us[1]; and the word is no doubt to be taken as the direct Hebrew term for a pyramid. HARBAH is in fact radically the same as our English word GRAVE; the word is found in variously modified forms in all the European languages; and from the same root we have the Hebrew word *hereb*, a graving or cutting tool, a sword[2]. Thus the word *harbah* properly denoted the excavated rock-tomb of the pyramid; and if it also expressed the pile of masonry above, this could only have been a secondary meaning.

A pyramid then is, strictly speaking, a sepulchral chamber hewn out in the rock; and the characteristic features of the Egyptian chambers to which this term was applied are that they were concealed by the blocking up of the entrance, by anterooms and secret passages, that they were each designed for the reception of only a single sarcophagus, and that the whole of the excavations and buildings connected with them, however vast and complicated, were, when compared with them, of merely subordinate importance. Is there anything of this kind to be found in the Kubûr el-Mulûk at Jerusalem? There is: chambers there exist precisely of the character that we have been delineating, and as Josephus says, three in number. Two of them have been described by De Saulcy: they are the undervaults which

[1] Gesenius translates nearly as in our English Bibles, and explains "building ruins" to mean "building edifices presently to fall into ruins." But in other places the phrase בנה חרבות has uniformly the opposite meaning of building up what before was waste; Isaiah lviii. 12, etc. Besides, assuming that it is to the pyramids that Job refers, these last are hardly ruins now, and therefore could not well have been called so three thousand years ago.

[2] See more in Quarterly Rev. Vol. LXXVIII. pp. 164, 165.

he assigns to the kings David and Hezekiah. The entrance to the third is now blocked up with rubbish; but it was explored and described in the last century by Pococke and Niebuhr.

The entrance to the first and most remarkable of these three undervaults is from the northern face of the westernmost of the three upper sepulchral chambers. In a small retreat between the two sepulchral crypts in that face is perceived a narrow opening leading downwards by an inclined plane, first into a small square space or anteroom nearly seven feet in length, and through this into the main vault. The two sides of this vault are provided with divans or couches[1]; at the extreme end is a niche for a lamp; in the centre of the chamber stood the sarcophagus, the lid of which De Saulcy has removed to the Louvre at Paris. The sarcophagus was probably that of queen Helena herself.

The access to the second undervault is by six steps leading downwards in a northerly direction from the south-western upper sepulchral chamber. On each side of the vault except that upon which it is entered is a divan or couch within an arched recess. The third undervault was entered directly from the northern side of the antechamber above. It is described as being about ten feet square; but we may hope that some future traveller will furnish us with the accurate dimensions of each of these three most remarkable apartments. It is worthy of notice that they all three run in the same direction, and are all entered from the south.

The three upper sepulchral chambers were without doubt intended not only to serve for the burial of

[1] These couches resemble the Jewish graves of that kind which Tobler calls the Aufleggrab or couch-tomb. (Golgatha, p. 218.) But it may be assumed that in this instance they were not intended for a directly sepulchral purpose.

Helena's family and courtiers, but also to conceal the existence of the undervaults beneath; and these latter have no parallel in any of the sepulchres round Jerusalem; for though under-apartments may be found elsewhere, as for instance in the Tombs of the Judges, in no case do they appear to have been designed for the reception of a single individual corpse. There are other indications of various kinds that the Sepulchre of Helena was not constructed upon the Jewish model, although some of the details may have been worked out in the Jewish style. The employment of sarcophagi was not in accordance with Jewish usage; but in the Kubûr el-Mulûk they appear to have been employed not only in the undervaults of honour, but also, if the accounts of former travellers may be trusted, in the sepulchral chambers above. Another point worthy of notice is the existence of the small recesses at the back of the sepulchral crypts: they were probably designed for the reception if not exactly of the treasures at least of some of the personal ornaments or property of the deceased. No proof has been advanced of the somewhat fanciful hypothesis that each of them was designed to contain the body of a child; and they are rarely, if ever, met with in the other sepulchres round Jerusalem[1]. Again, it has been a favourite theory with travellers that in the northern wall of the vestibule of the Kubûr el-Mulûk there must exist an entrance to a second series of apartments, corresponding to those on the southern side. Dr Tobler, who is decidedly the most competent authority on the subject of Jewish tombs, argues for the existence

[1] Tobler, in describing the usual form of the Jewish crypt, (Golgatha, p. 218,) says that sometimes das Grab auf einer Seite in ein Nebenschiebgrab (für ein Kind) oder in ein hinteres kürzeres Schiebgrab ausläuft, wie in den Königsgräbern und in der Hinnomsgruppe 7, 22. In these latter cases is the recess at the back or at the side of the crypt?

of such an entrance from the analogy of the construction of the other sepulchres round Jerusalem[1]. But the theory has been almost disproved by the thorough but fruitless exploration of Mr Wolcott in 1842[2]; and when we compare the southern entrance from the vestibule with the uniformly southward entrance to the pyramid-graves of Egypt, we shall come to the conclusion that there is no warrant for assuming any corresponding entrance on the northern side. And it was no doubt partly to conceal the place of entrance, and to mislead those who might attempt to violate the tomb, that the entrance was pierced in the southern wall of the vestibule rather than in the western wall opposite the portal. In all these endeavours after secrecy we trace a strong analogy with the pyramid-graves of the Egyptian monarchs, but none whatever with the ordinary graves of Judea; and they all tend to confirm the conclusion, if any further confirmation be needed, that this was the Sepulchre of Helena.

If finally we may be permitted to render the Arabic name Kubûr el-Mulûk not "Tombs of the Kings," but "Tombs of the Sovereigns," so as to include those of either sex, there will be no difficulty in supposing that the name has actually descended by continuous tradition from the days of Helena and Izates, and that they are the persons to whom the designation originally alluded. For nearly a thousand years indeed after the time of Jerome no mention of the Sepulchre of Helena is to be found, any more than of the numerous villages throughout the Holy Land which have yet preserved their Scripture names almost unaltered to the present day. But we recover the name in the fourteenth century in the writings of the noble Venetian Marino

[1] Tobler, Topographie, II. p. 309.

[2] Robinson's Bibl. Sacra, 1843, p. 36.

Sanudo[1]; nor is there any reason to doubt that it is to the Kubûr el-Mulûk that he refers under this title. And though his knowledge of Helena's history is clearly derived from his acquaintance with the writings of Eusebius or Josephus, the tenour of his language implies that her claim to the sepulchre was in his day fully recognized. The modern Jews assign the tomb to one Kalba Shabua, a wealthy and liberal Jew of whom frequent mention is made in the Talmud; and it may be that thus, unknown to themselves, they are but perpetuating in an obscure and corrupted form the remembrance of the royal generosity of their former Adiabenian benefactress. The history of Kalba Shabua's son-in-law Akiba, who played a prominent part in the revolt of the Jews under Hadrian, is in some respects parallel to that of queen Helena; he is believed by the Jews to have been of illustrious Gentile blood, and to have become a proselyte to their religion: and the name of the Adiabeni, which is in the mouth of a Greek scarcely distinguishable from Agibeni, and which is actually written Abigeni by Marino Sanudo, might from a shortened Arabic form have been easily corrupted by the Jews into Akiba, and thus given rise to the tradition now current among them.

We now pass on to the examination of a spot which to the minds of thousands, or rather of millions, unites in itself all that is most sacred not only in Jerusalem but in the whole world; and which indeed, were its sacredness to be measured by the importance of the events of which it is alleged to have been the scene, could not be regarded with feelings of too great reverence. In the centre of the Christian quarter of the modern city, within the precincts of a single church of the most costly magnificence which the piety of successive gene-

[1] See the passages in Robinson, Bib. Res. I. p. 538.

rations of Christian believers has reared, adorned, and re-erected to the honour of their Redeemer, are said to be enclosed the ground which sustained the cross of Christ in the hour of His crucifixion, and the tomb which received His body and in which it rested till the morn of His triumphant resurrection. In spite of the difficulties, the obstacles, and the dangers, that long beset the road of the traveller to Jerusalem, this spot has for fifteen centuries remained the great centre of all religious pilgrimage. Nor is it a matter for wonder that in an age of feeling rather than of reason, when men's comprehension of the laws of justice and of the true spirit of Christianity fell far short of the ardour of their zeal or the fervour of their devotion, the best blood of Christendom should have been freely spilt to rescue or to defend the Holy Sepulchre from the power and the insults of the infidel. The genuineness of the received sites both of our Lord's crucifixion and sepulture has now for some time past been vehemently contested; and the question has been discussed by both the assailants and the advocates of their genuineness with no ordinary degree of warmth and earnestness. On both sides men's convictions have been frequently determined less by argument than by prejudice; and indeed in a controversy connected with subjects of so deep and solemn an interest to every Christian, prejudices are not easily avoided. The most vehement opponents of the genuineness of the long-venerated tomb have confessed, that on entering the sepulchral chamber, and being directed to the place where the body of their Lord was laid, their previous scepticism could not restrain them from kneeling and from participating in the feelings of the most credulous pilgrims. And on the other hand the most ardent champion of the received traditions must, if he cherish one spark of Christian

feeling within him, look with unspeakable disgust on the habitual levity of the frequenters of the church, and above all on the scandalous and interminable contests which rival Christian communions are not ashamed to carry on in the presence or at the court of the unbeliever for the possession of the different parts of the edifice; so that the spot which has been hallowed by its association in the minds of fifty generations of the disciples of the Prince of Peace with the most sacred events that the earth ever witnessed, has now become the one great central focus of Christian rancour and discord.

The controversy respecting the authenticity of these sacred localities naturally and conveniently resolves itself into the settlement of two successive questions, which we shall do well to keep separate and distinct. We may first enquire into the general correctness of the prevalent belief that on the ground approximately occupied by the present church the crucifixion and burial of our Lord took place. And if we should be able to determine this question in the affirmative, we may then further investigate the evidence for the genuineness of that which is now asserted to be our Saviour's tomb.

We are told in the New Testament, that the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city; and also that the sepulchre wherein He was laid was in a garden in the place where He was crucified[1]. The present church stands within the limits of the modern city; and the ground which it occupies was undoubtedly included by the wall of Herod Agrippa. But the city of our Saviour's day was bounded not by the wall of Herod Agrippa, but by the older or second wall; and if the conclusions at which we have arrived respecting the course of that wall be correct, the ground in question

[1] Joh. xix. 20, 41.

must have certainly been without the city in our Saviour's time, and yet near to it. Nor need we stop here; for there are several indications as to the position of Calvary to be found in the Gospel narrative, which correspond most exactly to the position of the received site. The place of our Saviour's crucifixion was evidently a frequented spot[1]; and such the ground occupied by the present church must certainly have been, since it was intercepted between the Upper City and the Third Hill, the latter of which had been covered with houses long before our Saviour's time. The place of crucifixion probably adjoined a road leading from one of the city-gates[2]; by a reference to the map it will be seen that the road leading from the gate Gennath or garden-gate, perhaps the most frequented gate of Jerusalem, towards the coast, must have passed almost close to the present church. Our Lord's sepulchre was in a garden, near to the place of His suffering; the very name garden-gate sufficiently proves that the tract of ground on to which the gate opened must have been occupied by gardens. Nor is evidence wanting that in the rock of which the ground in this part was formed there were tombs to be found. Of one, the sepulchre of the high-priest John, the existence of which is recorded in history, we have already spoken; and in the cliff of solid rock against which the western wall of the present church is built we find a pair of crypts of the ordinary Jewish form hewn out, which tradition has chosen to designate as those of Joseph and Nicodemus, besides traces of other crypts of a similar kind which have disappeared by the cutting away of the rock[3]; and however worthless the desig-

[1] Joh. xix. 20.

[2] Mark xv. 21. Luke xxiii. 26.

[3] Tobler, Golgatha, p. 354; who argues against their antiquity. There are also in the same place two graves hewn out in the floor; but these are probably of more recent date. The position of the

nations may be by which these tombs are known, there is no valid reason for calling the antiquity of the crypts themselves in question. It is moreover remarkable that we should learn from an incidental notice of Josephus that the ground occupied by the Christian quarter of the modern city remained in his day, even after it had been enclosed by the new wall of Herod Agrippa, uncovered with buildings[1]; a circumstance which may be readily explained by the previous existence of gardens and tombs in that part. And although none of these considerations when taken singly may appear to be of much force, yet when taken all together they go very far to shew that the received site of the place of our Lord's crucifixion is approximately correct. It is not easy, perhaps not possible, to find any other spot in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem that fulfils all the conditions which we have laid down and which are satisfied by the received site. The attempts that have been made to locate Calvary in any other part of the environs of antient Jerusalem have decidedly failed: thus to the Valley of Hinnom, in which more than one writer has supposed that the true Calvary was to be sought, there is this objection, that none of the great thoroughfares from Jerusalem passed either through it or in the direction of it.

In corroboration of the evidence furnished by these incidental circumstances in favour of the received site of the crucifixion, comes the existence at the present day of the rock of Calvary or Golgotha; and it is surprising that to this rock so little attention should have been directed. For however inappropriate may be the desig-

cliff in which the entrance to the tombs must have been situate, as indicated in Plate I. fig. 6, shews that the sepulchral excavation to which they belonged must have been of considerable extent; and it is therefore possible that this may have been the very sepulchre of John the high-priest.

[1] Jos. B. J. v. 6. 2.

nation of *Mount* Calvary which has often been erroneously or fancifully applied to it, a headland of rock rising suddenly to the height of fourteen feet immediately opposite the city, and within 250 yards of the city-wall, must have once constituted a remarkable feature of the ground in the eyes of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. It is now included within the limits of the present church, and is concealed from view by the masonry by which it is surrounded; the buildings being so arranged that their southern and principal entrance is situate immediately to the westward of it. This little rocky hillock occupies at present a space of about forty feet square; but immediately to the north the rock would appear to have been cut away to make room for the floor of the present church; so that though always isolated on its southern and western sides, Golgotha must once have formed a projecting knoll from the south-eastern termination of the ridge Goath. The knoll would be rendered the more conspicuous on its southern side by the existence of a yet further depression in antient times between its base and the northern wall of the Upper City. The streets of the Christian quarter of the modern city running southward from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are now nearly level; but some excavations which were made a few years ago near the Church of the Forerunner, in the Khat 'Arset el-Ghalâl, about 500 feet due south of the entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, brought to light the fact that at this point there had been an accumulation of soil to the height of thirty or forty feet; and as it may be assumed that the original level of the ground round the base of the rock Golgotha is represented by the floor of the present church, there must between the base of this rock and the city-wall have existed a depression of thirty or forty feet in depth. Natural

peculiarities of the surface of the ground have among all nations been designated by terms derived from the different parts of the animal frame; and Golgotha or Skull would form an appropriate appellation for the rocky knoll of which we have been speaking[1]. The name would, apart from the Christian interest attaching to the place, be perpetuated among the inhabitants of Jerusalem as the ordinary designation of the rock; and if, as is probable, Golgotha was the usual place of execution, this would, at least up to the period of the destruction of Jerusalem, still further serve to mark the spot. And if the name Golgotha were likely to be remembered by the Jew, it is certainly not easy to believe that it would be forgotten by the Christian. When we thus take into consideration the topographical probabilities that our Saviour suffered within the Christian quarter of the modern city, the natural features of the rock now known as Golgotha which identify it with the "place of a skull" of the evangelists, and the probable perpetuation of the name Golgotha among the natives, more especially among the Christian natives, of Jerusalem until the date of the erection of the present church by the emperor Constantine, we have a mass of evidence the force of which it is difficult to resist, that the rock of which we have been speaking was the very scene of our Saviour's crucifixion.

The identification of the rock Golgotha establishes

[1] The name is contracted from *golgoltha*, apparently a Syriac form of the Hebrew *gulgoleth*, a skull. Others have treated it as *gol-goatha*, the skull or extremity of the hill Goath. But the former etymology is sanctioned by the authority of the evangelists, and more especially of St Luke, who does not employ the term Golgotha at all, but simply says ὅτε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Κρανίον, κ. τ. λ. Moreover the Hebrew word for skull never occurs in the form *gol*, but only in the reduplicated form *gulgoleth*; and the omission of the second *l* in *Golgotha* is paralleled in the ordinary Arabic word for skull, *jalajat*.

the approximate locality of our Saviour's sepulchre; for the two were nigh together. But when we pass on to examine the evidence for the genuineness of the exact spot which is now pointed out as the place of our Saviour's burial, we are forced to admit that the chain of traditionary evidence for the authenticity of the present sepulchre is by no means so perfect as has been sometimes represented. The absence of any allusion to the spot either in the inspired letters of the New Testament, or in the writings of any Christian author previous to the days of Constantine, cannot indeed of itself be regarded as furnishing more decisive evidence of the non-existence of any tradition in the case of the sepulchral cave than in that of the rock of Golgotha. But on the other hand the account which Eusebius gives us of the alleged recovery of the sepulchre by Constantine's agents, seems decisively to prove that while of its general position there could be no doubt, in consequence probably of its known vicinity to the rock of crucifixion, its exact place was before that emperor's time not only concealed, but unknown; not only obliterated, but forgotten. With the transactions connected with the recovery of the sepulchre Eusebius was himself personally conversant; and his narrative is therefore an authentic guide to the history of what then occurred[1]. The place of the present tomb had been, as he informs us, surmounted and polluted by the presence of a heathen temple of Venus. The emperor Constantine was moved "by an inward suggestion of the Saviour himself" to render the place conspicuous and holy by the erection of a church there. "Under divine influence," and not without invoking the divine aid, he ordered the idol fane to be destroyed, and all its materials to be removed from the country. Not

[1] Euseb. Vit. Const. III. 25—28.

content with this, and "being again divinely inspired," he ordered that the very foundation should be dug up to a considerable depth, and should be carried off, ground and all, to some distant place, entirely out of the way, inasmuch as it had been rendered unclean by the defilements of devilish device. As the earth was excavated and taken away, there appeared, contrary to all expectation, the present sepulchre. Those present were amazed at the discovery; and the words of the historian fairly imply that their wonder proceeded not merely from their finding the sepulchre unharmed, but from their arriving at it at all. Indeed both Constantine and Eusebius regarded the discovery as miraculous; and this very circumstance seems to shew that however well it might have been ascertained that the place of our Lord's burial could not have been far off (and thus much must clearly be assumed to render the narrative of Eusebius intelligible), yet still the exact site of the tomb was previously unknown if not to all, at least to the great majority of those present.

On what grounds then was the rock-hewn cave that was thus unexpectedly brought to light identified as our Saviour's sepulchre? It is to this point that our enquiries must be directed; for on the answer that can be given to this question our assurance of the authenticity of the now venerated tomb must necessarily in great measure depend. There is indeed a strong *à priori* probability that good grounds for the identification existed, even although we may not be able clearly to ascertain what they were. In the first instance, no doubt, the excited feelings of the workmen and of those who had the superintendence of the removal of the heathen temple would to a great degree supply the place of more substantial evidence; the more especially if, as is probable, they believed themselves to be acting

under divine inspiration. Yet still had there been no real evidence of the authenticity of our Saviour's tomb, the belief in its genuineness would hardly have obtained such universal and permanent acceptance. Men of probity and education like Eusebius, whose silence respecting the true cross may be taken as an indication that he attached no value to *that* wondrous relic[1], would have counselled the emperor not to commit himself too strongly to a belief in that which might reasonably be disputed. The place was open to the inspection of all; that it was a cave hardly admits of a doubt; and all those who examined it at the time, whether Christians or Pagans, had full opportunity of comparing it with the other sepulchres existing in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. On this point however the testimony of subsequent witnesses may enable us to judge for ourselves; and it is unquestionably just that the true sepulchral character of the tomb should be subjected to the severest scrutiny. On some of the arguments which have been adduced in favour of the genuineness of the

[1] A supposed solitary allusion to it has been found in the imperial letter as given by Eusebius, (Vit. Const. III. 28,) in the phrase *γνώρισμα τοῦ πάθους*; but this more probably refers to the sepulchral cave. It is however doubtful whether the supposed cross had been discovered in Eusebius' time. There is no allusion to it in the itinerary of the Bordeaux pilgrim, A.D. 333; and the first references to it are in the Catechetical Lectures of Cyril, A.D. 347, who speaks of its wood having been distributed piecemeal to all the world. The discovery of it is first ascribed to Helena in the legendary narratives of a later date. One writer, Paulinus, speaks of a miraculous power in the portion of the cross kept at Jerusalem of giving off fragments of itself without diminishing; and this statement has been seized upon as a proof of the gross imposture which must have been practised by the clergy of Jerusalem. But although we can hardly acquit the finders of the supposed cross of great credulity in assuming that it could be recognized after having lain in the earth during a period of 300 years, there is no sufficient ground for accusing them of imposture: Gibbon well remarks that Paulinus merely seems to have improved a rhetorical flourish of Cyril into a real fact.

site too much stress has undoubtedly been laid. Thus it has been contended that the identity of our Saviour's tomb was established by the very fane which is alleged to have been erected over it for the purpose of desecrating and obliterating the site. Of the real history however of the temple which Constantine demolished nothing is known, except only that existing coins prove it to have been erected at least as early as the reign of Antoninus Pius[1]. Eusebius speaks of the builders of the temple in the most indefinite terms, perhaps from his ignorance respecting them. Some sixty years after Eusebius, Jerome in a letter passingly remarks that an image of Jupiter had stood on the place of the Resurrection and a marble statue of Venus on the rock of the Cross, from the time of Hadrian to the reign of Constantine[2]. These topographical details are at variance with the narrative of Eusebius, and probably incorrect; and we can therefore not justly place more dependence on the rest of Jerome's statement. He and Eusebius agree in declaring that the idols were set up to pollute and obliterate the site. But we can hardly treat this as more than a mere surmise or assumption of their own; and Sozomen in the middle of the fifth century writes, though probably with still less authority, that the design of the heathen was that the Christians who came to pay their devotions at the sepulchre might appear to be worshipping an idol.

More importance may be attached to the argument of Mr Finlay derived from the system of the census which was regularly carried out by the Roman government[3]. He contends that from the time of Augustus the Romans were in the habit of making surveys of every province of their empire of such minuteness that they

[1] See a woodcut of the coin in Williams, Holy City, II. p. 128.

[2] Hieron. Ep. LVIII. ad Paulin. Opp. I. p. 321. ed. Vallars.

[3] On the Site of the Holy Sepulchre, London, 1847.

descended not only to the details of every private estate, but also of every single field, and even of the number of the fruit-trees in every garden. Plans of these surveys, engraven on brass, were deposited in the imperial registry at Rome, and copies on linen were also placed in the hands of the local administrators, and in the provincial archives. To these surveys Augustus paid particular attention: they were further improved by his successors, and repeated at intervals of fifteen years. The examination of the successive registers would enable the officers of Constantine to discover the place of the garden of Joseph of Arimathea, and to trace the property through the hands of its successive holders; and their master would thus have the means of knowing that the fane which he proceeded to demolish stood over the sepulchre known of old as that of Christ. To this argument it has been objected that there are reasons for doubting whether the census was regularly repeated in Palestine; and whether, even if it were regularly repeated, all three copies of the surveys at Rome, Cæsarea, and Jerusalem may not have perished long before the date of Constantine's reign[1]. And to these objections no reply has yet been made.

But whatever may be thought of the arguments which have thus been alleged for the necessary authenticity of the present sepulchre, there is, as we have already remarked, a strong *à priori* probability that at the time of its discovery by the agents of Constantine, good grounds existed for identifying it as the place in which our Saviour was buried. The Pagans of the country must have been fully acquainted with the circumstances of its discovery; their attention would be fixed upon the spot by the erection of the basilica of Constantine; and had there been any valid ground for scepticism, they

[1] Williams, Holy City, II. pp. 67, 68.

would hardly have refrained in the reign of Julian from commenting on the insufficiency of the evidence. Julian himself must have been as well acquainted with the history of the existing basilica of Constantine as with that of the ruined temple of Solomon; and a prince of his literary pursuits, who spent his money and the energies of his Jewish subjects in endeavouring to overthrow the faith of the Christians by rebuilding the temple, would have only too willingly exercised his pen in casting doubts upon the authenticity of the sepulchre.

It has been urged against the genuineness of the present tomb that it is situate too near the rock of Golgotha for us to believe that it could ever have been a real sepulchral excavation. The objection is a natural one to make: the distance from the north-western base of Golgotha to the actual tomb is barely a hundred feet. On the other hand if the true sepulchral character of the tomb can be clearly established, then its vicinity to Golgotha will form the very best argument that could be brought to shew that this was the tomb of Christ. And if we should be further able to shew not only the true sepulchral character of the tomb, but also that in the peculiarities of its form it corresponds in a remarkable manner with the sepulchre described by the evangelists, this would necessarily serve still further to strengthen our belief in its authenticity. It is therefore to an examination of the tomb itself that we must now proceed.

The existing Holy Sepulchre presents externally the appearance of a small chapel, surmounted by a Russian dome, standing in the centre of the Rotunda or western portion of the church within which it is enclosed[1]. The entrance is on the eastern side. The interior of the chapel is divided into two compartments. The first or

[1] See the plan, Plate I. fig. 5.

eastern chamber, known as the Angel-chapel, is nearly ten feet square; but it is of no archæological importance, as it is entirely built of masonry. The inner or sepulchral chamber is nearly six feet in length by seven in breadth. The entrance to it is in the southern portion of the eastern face; and the whole of the northern portion of the chamber is occupied by what externally resembles a stone seat or altar nearly three feet in breadth and about the same in height. The top and the southern front of this altar, the only parts which are exposed to view, are composed of marble slabs; and these are said to cover and to conceal the tomb wherein the body of the Redeemer was laid. The sides of the chamber consist also of thick marble slabs, forming, as is alleged, a mere lining to the native rock; and it is asserted by some travellers that at the entrance to the chamber the surface of the grey limestone rock is to be seen; though others who have also examined the entrance state that this appearance is merely produced by the rugged and broken state of the masonry. The present isolated position of the sepulchral chamber above the ground is explained by assuming that Constantine ordered the whole of the surrounding rock to be cut away for the sake of adorning the entire exterior of the chamber with an architectural casing. It is therefore only in the interior of the existing chamber that we can expect to find any parallel to the arrangements usually adopted in the Jewish sepulchral excavations.

The sepulchres in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem differ from one another in size and extent. In the greater number of instances they consist of a succession of several chambers opening out of each other in different directions, with an antechamber conducting to them; but the latter is often wanting; and it is never found when the excavation contains only a single sepulchral

apartment. The entrance to the sepulchre is usually by a doorway cut in the perpendicular face of the cliff. The sepulchral chambers themselves are generally rectangular, but of very various sizes: the smallest that have been measured are $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length by $3\frac{3}{4}$ in breadth. The actual tombs or receptacles for the bodies that are found in these chambers are, excluding the graves which are hewn out in the floor of the apartment, and which do not appear to have been of Jewish origin, of three principal kinds. The first and most frequent kind is that in which the tomb resembles a crypt or deep oven extending into the rock-wall of the chamber, with its longest dimension perpendicular to the wall. In the second kind the form of the tomb is that of a plain shelf, bench, or couch, running along the side of the chamber at a height of about two feet above its floor. This couch, which is hewn out of the native rock, either extends into the side of the chamber, the rock-wall being hewn into the form of a vault or arch above it; or else, as is more frequently the case, it stretches forward from the wall and thus stands within the limits of the chamber itself. Tombs of this kind are usually found in triplets, one on each of the sides of the chamber excluding the entrance side. The third kind of tomb is the hollow soros or coffin, hewn out of the native rock, and stretching as in the last case along the side of the chamber, at a height of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the floor. The tomb is usually about a foot and a half broad, and the interior depth of the soros is about one foot. The soros-tombs ordinarily occur in pairs, one on each of the two opposite sides of the apartment; and in the sepulchres around Jerusalem they stand within the limits of the apartment, not in recesses in the wall[1].

[1] See generally Tobler's description of the Jewish sepulchres, (Golgatha, pp. 201 seqq.) which is by far the most complete that has

The tomb of the Holy Sepulchre obviously belonged to one of the two latter kinds; to which of the two, we shall presently decide. The interior dimensions of the sepulchre would, if the marble lining that conceals its walls were removed, fairly correspond to those of an ordinary sepulchral chamber. There is no reason for supposing that there was ever any rock antechamber leading to it. Bishop Cyril, in his lectures delivered about twenty years after the recovery of the sepulchre, speaks indeed of a certain outer cave (*σκέπη* or *προσκέπασμα*) which had been hewn away for the sake of adornment; but the Greek words that he uses will apply not so well to a close square apartment, as to a natural open hollow or sheltering cave in the rock, of which the hewers of the sepulchre would readily take advantage in order to pierce the entrance of the sepulchre within it. And though Cyril says that this outer cave had been hewn away, it may be suspected that the shape of the rock immediately outside the entrance to the sepulchre originally suggested the form of the apse which till the fire of 1808 was preserved at the western extremity of the Angel-chapel[1].

The notices of the first adornment of the sepulchre by Constantine are but fragmentary and scanty. Eusebius relates that the emperor decorated the sacred cave with choice columns. From the analogy of the number of the columns that surrounded the apse of the adjoining basilica it has been conjectured that these were twelve in number, in honour of the twelve apostles; and the dodecagonal figure into which the rock must have been hewn is preserved in the corresponding form of the

appeared. With this should be compared his account of the several excavations in his Topographie, II. pp. 227 seqq. Dr Tobler is himself strongly opposed to the authenticity of the Holy Sepulchre; but the force of his arguments is less remarkable than the carefulness of his descriptions.

[1] See Plate I. fig. 6.

western part of the exterior of the chapel to the present day. In the year 614 A.D. Jerusalem was besieged and sacked by the Persians under Khosroes; and the sacred buildings connected with the sepulchre were destroyed with the aid of fire. Of the damage done to the sepulchre itself we have no precise record; but of its subsequent appearance after the restoration of the buildings we have a full account in the narrative of the pilgrimage of the French bishop Arculf towards the end of the seventh century. The sepulchre, or as Arculf calls it, the monument, stood in the centre of a round church. He describes it as a round cabin, cut all out of one and the same rock, within which thrice three men could stand to pray. The vaulted ceiling was about a foot and a half above the head of a man of moderate stature. The entrance to the cabin was from the east. The whole of its exterior surface was covered with choice marble: the top of the roof was adorned with gold and supported a large golden cross. In the northern part of the interior was the Lord's tomb, hewn out of the same rock with the cabin itself; and the height from the pavement of the cabin to the margin of the side of the tomb was about three palms. The tomb itself, in which the Lord's body, wrapped in linen clothes, was deposited, Arculf measured with his own hand as seven feet in length. It was not, as some erroneously imagined, double, with a raised partition in the solid stone to separate the two legs, but was single for the whole distance from the head to the feet; in shape it resembled a cave; and the space within the cavity formed a couch sufficiently large to contain one man lying on his back. The opening was on the southern side, towards the sepulchral chamber; and the low roof which projected over it was artificially wrought. Within the sepulchral chamber burnt twelve lamps, day and

night, after the number of the twelve holy apostles. The whole of its interior, not being concealed by any adornment, still shewed the tracks of the workmen's tools with which it was excavated. The colour of the rock out of which the sepulchral chamber and the tomb were hewn was not uniform, but an intermixture of red and white. Willibald, an Englishman, who visited Jerusalem within fifty or sixty years of the date of Arculf's pilgrimage, before the sepulchre had undergone any alteration of which we are aware, describes it as hewn out of a rock: the rock now stood out above the ground, and was square at the bottom but tapered above, and had a cross on the summit.

From these accounts it appears that although the exterior of the sepulchral chamber had been covered, probably with marble slabs, as at present, the whole of the interior as well as the tomb itself still displayed to full view the native rock. The rock-ceiling had however already disappeared, and the floor had perhaps been covered by a pavement which somewhat diminished the height of the tomb above the ground[1]. The form of the chamber as described by Arculf, the internal size, and the colour of the rock have all occasioned some difficulty. With regard to the form, Arculf speaks of it as round, Willibald as square; and the accounts can only be reconciled by assuming that while it was round outside it was square within, in accordance with the internal form of all the Jewish sepulchres, and with that of the chamber in question as it remains to the present day. This is confirmed by a reference to the rude draw-

[1] The term *pavimentum* may denote either a pavement or a simple rock-floor. The Romans used the word *palmus* not only for the hand-breadth of three inches, but also for the hand-length of nine inches. Three palms of the latter sort, together with a pavement three inches thick, would give $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet for the height of the tomb above the original ground.

ing which Arculf delivered to Adamnan, abbot of Iona, by whom the narrative of his pilgrimage was written down from his dictation. In that drawing only the exterior form of the sepulchre is represented[1]. It was probably strictly dodecagonal; but if it was ornamented with columns or pilasters, the difference between this and the round form would be scarcely appreciable. With regard to the size we may remark that although the present sepulchre is but small, seven men have been seen assembled inside it[2]; and there can be little doubt that it would hold two more if the marble lining were removed. The colour of the stone as described by Arculf is a matter of greater difficulty. The rock of the sepulchre must like all the rock existing round Jerusalem have been a grey limestone; as such it is represented by those who declare it to be visible at the entrance to the sepulchre at the present day; and even had it been masonry the colour of which attracted Ar-

[1] In the copies of this plan in Mabillon (Acta Sanctorum Ord. S. Bened. III. Part II. p. 505), the Quarterly Review (Vol. LXXV. p. 355), Fergusson (Essay, p. 149), and Tobler (Golgatha, p. 107), the tomb is represented by two parallel chords stretching right across the northern part of the circular outline of the chamber. But in the original drawing as given by Gretser (Opp. Ratisb, 1734. Tom. IV. Pt. II. p. 256), and correctly represented in the Dublin Univ. Magazine (Vol. XXVI. p. 274) and the Museum of Classical Antiquities (Vol. II. p. 359), the tomb is bounded on the west by a straight line running from north to south, and does not reach so far west as the western part of the circle; and it becomes perfectly clear that Arculf has never drawn the interior outline of the rock chamber at all, but only the exterior shape of the rock, or rather (for all his lines are double) that of the marble casing that surrounded it. Tobler tells us that in a copy of the drawing in a Vienna MS. the tomb does not join the circle at its western end, though it comes very close; and in the copy which Giles has given with Bede's abridgment of Adamnan's tract (Bede VI. p. 440), and which he took from a Paris MS., the tomb stands free at both ends. In the different copies of the drawing the proportions and relative positions of the several buildings vary very considerably; shewing that no accurate dependence can be placed upon them.

[2] Tobler, Golgatha, p. 175.

culf's attention (though he expressly declares that it was not), it would not be easy to say whence the mottled red and white stone could have been procured. But the difficulty is fortunately explained by the report of a later witness. Father Boniface, superior of the Latin Convent at Jerusalem, in speaking of the sepulchre when the subsequent marble lining was removed from it for the purpose of repair in the sixteenth century, tells us that two representations of angels were found, painted on the rock. The one was portrayed as uttering the words, "He is risen, He is not here," and the other as pointing with his finger to the tomb and saying, "Behold the place where they laid Him." The sudden exposure to the air after they had been so long concealed caused the figures on this occasion to fade in great measure away. It was probably the red colour of these or some previous paintings of similar character that Arculf mistook for the native hue of the portions of the rock which they occupied; and hence his assertion that the rock was a mottled red and white.

In the beginning of the eleventh century the sacred buildings were demolished by the mad Egyptian khalif el-Hâkim, who with systematic fury endeavoured to break in pieces or to destroy by fire the rock sepulchre itself; though, as is recorded, without success. And it was either when the church was rebuilt after this persecution, or else when the crusaders subsequently took possession of it, that the tomb was first covered with marble, and the rock walls of the interior of the chamber concealed by a marble lining. This concealment of the native rock from view has given rise to the supposition that el-Hâkim may have really succeeded in the destruction that he attempted, and that the present chamber and tomb are mere masonry imitations of those which formerly existed. But for this hypothesis there seems

to be no warrant, though it has gained many supporters. We have the testimony of later witnesses to the existence of the rock beneath the marble. The Russian pilgrim Daniel, in the twelfth century, relates that the guardian priest furtively lifted the marble slab of the tomb in his presence, and broke off for him a small fragment of the rock beneath. And Father Boniface, who superintended the repairs of the sepulchre in the sixteenth century, and to whose account of the rock-wall of the sepulchral chamber we have already alluded, testifies that when it had become necessary to remove one of the alabaster slabs with which the actual tomb was covered, there then appeared "that ineffable place wherein the Son of Man rested for three days." The testimony of the Russian is somewhat indecisive; he might have been deceived: that of the Latin superior is less open to dispute. It has, with better reason, and with more support from historical testimony, been suspected that the rock is much mutilated beneath the marble, and that the object of the covering was to conceal the mutilations. The dodecagonal form of the exterior appears to have been preserved during the reigns of the early Frank kings, for a writer about A.D. 1130 describes the sepulchre as approximately round[1]. The form of the eastern part was perhaps altered by building on in front during the latter period of the Latin kingdom: the Angel-chapel is first mentioned two years before the conquest of the city by Salah ed-Dîn.

From the evidence which can be collected on the subject, the form of the tomb appears to be not that of a plain shelf, but that of a soros or coffin; and as was usual with the soros-tomb, it seems to have stood not in an arched recess in the rock-wall, but within the chamber.

[1] John of Würzburg, in Tobler, p. 185.

To the soros-shape we have the distinct testimony of Quaresmius, who gathered his information from those who had beheld it during the repairs of Boniface; and to the same effect is the account of an old Greek priest who beheld it after the fire of 1808, as reported at second-hand by Mr Wilde. The soros-shape is also indirectly implied by Arculf, who would hardly, had the tomb consisted of a mere shelf, have guarded against the misapprehension that there existed any raised partition to separate between the legs of the corpse. The low roof of which Arculf speaks, overhanging the tomb, and which has been since removed and never replaced, was, as he states, artificial (*fabrefactum*); and the word *culmen* by which he describes it would hardly apply to an arch[1].

The principal peculiarity of the Holy Sepulchre is this, that whereas the soros-tombs usually occur in pairs, we have here but one tomb, nor could a corresponding tomb have ever existed on the southern side of the apartment. But the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea was, as we learn from the evangelists, a new sepulchre, wherein man had never yet been laid[2], and was therefore probably uncompleted; for the several tombs in the same sepulchre would hardly be hewn out all at once, but only as occasion required. In this circumstance therefore we may justly trace a confirmation of the authenticity of the existing tomb. From a comparison of the narrative of St Mark, who speaks of the

[1] In thus arriving at a somewhat different conclusion from that adopted by Prof. Willis, I may take the opportunity of acknowledging my very extensive obligations to his admirable work. He has cited the authorities so fully that it has not been generally necessary in these pages to make any special reference to them; and he has so diligently used them, that it is often not easy to add anything of value to what he has said. Indeed it is only in the hope that I may have contributed my quota, however small, to the elucidation of the subject, that I have ventured to trench on the ground that he has so well occupied.

[2] John xix. 41.

women coming to the sepulchre on the morning of the resurrection, and entering into the sepulchre and there seeing a young man clothed in white sitting on the right side, with that of St John, who speaks of two angels in white sitting the one at the head and the other at the feet where the body of Jesus had lain, it is clear that the tomb of the evangelists was on the right side of the apartment[1]; and such is the case with the tomb of the present day. The circumstance of the tomb standing within the chamber, and not in a recess in the wall, explains how the two angels were able to sit upon it; and as we have seen that there was no proper antechamber to the sepulchre, there is no difficulty in understanding how the loved disciple when he came to the entrance saw the tomb and the linen clothes lying, without passing in. It has been objected that if the clothes were laid at the bottom of a soros, they could hardly have been visible to a spectator without; but the interior depth of a soros was not more than a foot, and the whole of the grave-clothes, if loosely folded, could scarcely have been pressed down into so small a space; and that they were merely loosely folded is shewn by the fact of the napkin being found not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself.

While thus compelled to admit the invalidity of the objections that have been urged against the authenticity of the Holy Sepulchre, and the difficulty of believing that it was elsewhere than here that the Redeemer of the world was laid, we cannot at the same time but regret the utter transformation which the cave itself has undergone, and the scantiness of the traces that to the eye of any ordinary beholder remain of its original destination. The removal of the surrounding rock, the casing of marble, and the architectural adornment have

[1] Mark xvi. 5. Joh. xx. 12.

destroyed, so far as is possible, the associations which the true lover of the evangelic page would most desire to have cherished. He will remember that it was in a cliff of rock with a garden before it, not in a marble chapel in the centre of a crowded church, that the Saviour was buried: he will lament that so much labour should have been misspent in disguising the native beauty of the scene, and will complain that what was once a sepulchre should have now become an idol. It may be indeed that the material tomb has ministered more to superstition than to religion, more to discord than to Christian love; but still we have no more right on this account to deny its authenticity, than we have to doubt that the brasen serpent to which the Israelites burned incense was the same which by God's command Moses lifted up in the wilderness. Yet the rock of Christ's tomb, like the brasen serpent of the Israelites, may have become the object of an idolatrous devotion; and the heart of him who keeps the resurrection feast not with the leaven of malice and wickedness but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth, is a truer martyrion of the Saviour's rising again than even the rock on which on Easter-morn the grave-clothes alone remained to tell who there had rested.

A greatly exaggerated importance was attached to these sacred localities when in former times they were elevated into evidences of the Christian faith. To an unprejudiced mind it is obvious that the discovery of the sepulchre, nearly three hundred years after it had been the resting-place of our Saviour's body, did not add the slightest confirmation to the proofs that the Resurrection had really taken place; nor, could the authenticity of the tomb be disproved, would the evidence for the truth of our Lord's resurrection be in the least affected. The sepulchre may have figured as a

testimony of the Resurrection in the florid writings of Eusebius, it may have been appealed to as such in the rhetoric of Cyril when addressing an audience of congenial hearers, but it was not appealed to by St Peter, nor did he make the slightest allusion to it, when preaching to the Jews concerning the resurrection of Christ only a few weeks after the event; even though the apostle in the course of his address alluded to the royal sepulchre of David. The true evidence of the Resurrection is the united testimony of the five hundred witnesses chosen before of God, and the result of that testimony as recorded to us by the several writers of the New Testament; and on their testimony the faith of the Christian rests. As men in former times exaggerated the importance of the sepulchre itself, so in more recent years they have overrated the importance of the question of its authenticity. A needless element has indeed been introduced into the controversy in the imputations which have been cast upon those concerned in its discovery. For the history of the original discovery of the present sepulchre by Constantine is plainly and distinctly narrated by Eusebius; and if it was too hastily assumed to be the sepulchre of Christ, we are at least in full possession of the circumstances under which the mistake was committed. The charges of fraud that have been made upon the clergy of Jerusalem in Constantine's time are unsupported by the slightest evidence; and they have so little bearing on the question before us, that they might be made with almost as much reason on the supposition of the genuineness as on that of the spuriousness of the present sepulchre. As Christians, we have the promise of the Spirit to guide us into all essential truth; but we have no right to expect, nor has the church at large ever claimed, an immunity from error in a matter of sacred topography,

which does not in the slightest degree affect the truth of the faith delivered to us in the New Testament. We are there required to believe, not in the genuineness of Christ's sepulchre, but in the reality of His death and resurrection; and however strong the arguments for the genuineness of the sepulchre may be, we are bound to concede to all the liberty which has been assumed alike by Protestants and by Roman Catholics, of conscientiously judging of the question according as the evidence may present itself before them.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TEMPLE.

BEFORE we enter upon an investigation of the size, plan, and architecture of the various parts of the Jewish temple, it will be necessary to premise that these were by no means the same through the whole of the different periods of its history.

The temple was originally built by king Solomon: it was commenced in the fourth year of his reign, B.C. 1012, and completed in the eleventh year of his reign, B.C. 1005. The temple of Solomon was destroyed by the Chaldeans in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, B.C. 588; rather more than six times seventy years from the date of its foundation, and rather less than six times seventy years from the date of its dedication.

While the sanctuary of God was thus lying ruined and desolate, there was granted to the prophet Ezekiel, who dwelt as a captive by the river of Chebar in Mesopotamia, a vision of a future temple, the full particulars of which were recorded by him in the book of his prophecy in great detail. That vision could, as we shall hereafter shew, be only realized in the times of the Christian dispensation; yet the particular period at which it was granted shews that it was partly designed to keep alive the hopes of the Jewish nation during the Babylonish captivity.

The foundations of the second temple were laid by Zerubbabel and Jeshua in the second year of the return from the captivity, B. C. 535. The building was how-

ever soon broken off through the intrigues of the Samaritans till the second year of Darius, B. C. 520. It was then, by permission of the Persian monarch, resumed; the people, whose zeal for the restoration of the sanctuary had greatly relaxed during the period of the interruption, were again aroused and urged on to the work by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah; and the temple was completed in the sixth year of Darius, B. C. 516.

We may thus apply to the temple what is said in the Book of Chronicles of the land of Judea generally[1], that as long as it lay desolate it kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years; for the interval between the destruction of the temple and the resumption of the work of rebuilding it was but two years short of seventy years, and the interval between the destruction of the old temple and the dedication of the new was but two years more than seventy years; the whole period from the dedication of the first temple to the dedication of the second temple being within a few months of seven times seventy, or four hundred and ninety years.

Four hundred and ninety-six years after the dedication of the temple of Zerubbabel, Herod the Great, in the eighteenth year of his reign, B. C. 20, determined on replacing the existing building by one of far greater magnificence, and on enlarging the precincts of the enclosure. The Jews were greatly alarmed at the first announcement of the design, as they feared that the king was undertaking a work beyond his means to execute, and they were unwilling to suffer the old temple to be destroyed, while they were uncertain of ever possessing a new one in its place. Herod however silenced their scruples by collecting all the materials and assembling all the workmen that were requisite for the proposed undertaking, before he demolished the

[1] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

existing fabric. The work was then commenced. The sacred house itself was completed by the priests in a year and a half; and was dedicated forthwith. The erection of the porticoes and of the exterior walls, on which the attention of the king himself was principally bestowed, occupied eight years. But the completion of the other parts, including, seemingly, all the inner court, took a much longer period; owing, perhaps, to its not being carried on with the same zeal after Herod's death. At the date of the commencement of our Saviour's ministry, the Jews remarked that the temple had already been forty and six years in building: and the whole work was not brought to a close till the year of the procuratorship of Albinus, A. D. 64. Seven years later, A. D. 71, Jerusalem was besieged and captured by the Romans, and the fruits of eighty-four years' labour perished in the fire of a single day.

Of the temple of Herod we have a moderately full account in the writings of Josephus, and in the Talmud; but these accounts have not been sufficient to preclude a remarkable divergence of opinions among recent authors on some of the main questions connected with it. It must not be concealed, that this difference of opinion is partly owing to the fact that the particulars of Josephus' testimony have not of late obtained universal acceptance. It has been contended that they are contradicted by the evidence deducible from the appearance which the site of the temple still presents; and the respective testimonies of Josephus and of the Talmud have been further arrayed in mutual opposition, and the statements of both have been rejected on the ground that they are irreconcileable with each other. But far stronger evidence than has been yet brought forward, is required in order to entitle us to cast summarily aside the testimony of so able, and generally speaking, so

truthful a writer as Josephus; the more especially, since it is not pretended that in those of his statements which are impugned he has been guilty of any exaggeration; on the contrary, the substance of the charges which have been by implication brought against him is that in this instance he has widely erred in the opposite direction. A more careful examination of the evidence bearing upon the subject will serve to convince us that on all main points his account is thorougly trustworthy; and that so far from being contradicted by the present appearance of the site of the temple, it is not only perfectly consistent with it, but receives from it a strong confirmation. Nor does the testimony of Josephus disagree to the extent that has been represented with that of the Rabbies; though as they were for the most part men of inferior judgment to him, and as they spoke only from tradition, while Josephus was an eye-witness of what he has recorded, their authority need not stand so high as his. We have however no right to assume that either Josephus or the Rabbies have erred till we can bring forward good proof to convict them of error. It will be our endeavour in the following pages, by a comparison of the different authorities, to establish satisfactorily all the main points connected with the plan and arrangement of the temple of Herod; and having done this, we shall then be in a position to ascend to the investigation of the original plan of the temple of Solomon. The scripture accounts of this temple, on which we shall have principally to rely for information respecting it, will perhaps not be found so indefinite or so insufficient as might at first sight be imagined; and we shall derive considerable aid from the details of the vision-temple of Ezekiel, which, there is every reason to believe, were in great measure copied from those of the temple of Solomon.

It will be necessary first of all to offer a short description of the Haram esh-Sherîf, or area of the Great Mosk of Jerusalem, on which, or on part of which, it is universally agreed that the antient Jewish temple stood.

The Haram esh-Sherîf, or Noble Sanctuary, is an area of between 30 and 40 acres, situate upon the hill which, not without sufficient proof, although in opposition to the prevailing opinion, we may now venture to designate as the hill of Zion. With the exception of the raised platform in the centre, on which the Great Mosk stands, the ground of the Haram is nearly level. Its form differs but little from that of a rectangle, whose sides face the four cardinal points; neither of the northern angles is, however, strictly a right angle, and the length of the northern is thus greater than that of the southern side[1]. The area occupies the south-eastern corner of the city, in such a way that the whole of the eastern wall of the area, and also the eastern portion of its southern wall, form the exterior city boundary. There are several entrances leading from the city on to the area on its northern and western sides; the Haram gates being situate at the end of the city lanes by which they are approached. The southernmost gate but one on the western side, known as the Bâb es-Sinsleh, or Gate of the Chain, stands at the extremity of the raised causeway or embankment that runs across the valley, which was known in the times of the crusaders as the Street of the Temple, and which has been already in a preceding chapter identified with the Millo of the Old

[1] In the English Ordnance Survey the continuity of the western boundary of the Haram is represented as broken towards its southern part by two re-entering angles; and the wall is thus drawn in eastward by two offsets, the one of 100, the other of 130 feet. But the testimony of Tobler, and the subsequent observations of Robinson and Bartlett, leave no doubt that in this instance the survey is in error.

Testament. The centre of this gate is distant, according to the Ordnance Survey about 550, according to Catherwood's plan about 590, or according to Tobler's plan about 640 English feet from the south-western corner of the Haram. It will be convenient to select the Bâb es-Sinsleh as a starting-point in our description of the boundary walls of the Haram. For about 100 feet to the south of this gate the wall is concealed on the exterior by the Mehkemeh or Town-hall; but to the south of this there succeeds a small open place, stretching along the outside of the Haram wall for about 150 feet, and approached only from the city by a narrow crooked lane. This is the Jews' wailing-place, where the Israelites of Jerusalem assemble, more especially on Friday, and most of all on the great Jewish festivals, to read the Old Testament Scriptures, to mourn over the departed glory of Zion, and to pray for its restoration. The portion of the Haram wall which is here exposed to view displays nine courses of massive bevelled masonry; several of the stones being more than eight feet in length by three in height, and some of them reaching the length of fourteen or sixteen feet. The upper part of the wall consists of masonry of an inferior order, and is evidently the work of a later period. Immediately to the south of the wailing-place, the Haram wall is again concealed by the house of Abu Se'ud; but this continues only for a short distance; and the last 200 feet (more or less) of the western wall are open to full inspection. In this part three courses of the large bevelled masonry, and the remains of a fourth, may still be traced; and some of the stones at the south-western corner measure thirty feet in length. It may be here observed, that none of the existing remains of this large masonry reach so high as the level of the interior area of the Haram. In this southernmost portion of the

western wall there occur the remnants of the arch to which the reader's attention has been called in treating of the palace of Solomon. The exact dimensions and position of this most interesting and remarkable fragment have been already defined.

Along the western portion of the southern wall of the Haram, which faces the private garden of the Mosk el-Aksa, the bevelled masonry ceases; and is replaced by a fine lofty wall of less imposing character, but of good and uniform workmanship, such as may be seen in the later Roman erections. The city-wall which encloses the Aksa-garden on the east, and which runs southward from the Haram, cuts in half an antient double gateway in the Haram wall, thus leaving a portion of it without the city. This gateway leads into a corridor running northwards beneath the ground of the Haram, which has been furtively explored by several recent European travellers, and will be found to be of considerable importance in our study of the antient Jewish temple. Measurements of the interior of this corridor, with full details, have been taken by Mr Tipping, whose admirable sketches of this and other scenes not only furnish a most lively picture of the modern city, but constitute, from their extreme accuracy, one of the most valuable helps for the investigation of the antiquities of Jerusalem.

Outside the city-wall, the masonry of the southern face of the Haram is once more open to full view; and is again of the same massive character and bevelled in the same manner as that before described. At a distance of 230 feet from the city-wall we arrive at a large gateway consisting of three arches, apparently of Roman construction; but the arches, which are semicircular, are now blocked up flush with the rest of the wall. On passing this gateway, the large blocks of masonry

disappear for a distance of about 150 feet, till we arrive at a small blocked up ogival gate, most probably of Saracenic origin. Here the massive masonry again commences, and continues for a distance of 93 feet to the south-eastern angle, where, owing to the height of the interior level of the Haram area above the ground outside, not fewer than fifteen courses of it are to be seen. Indeed the south-eastern angle of the Haram exhibits perhaps one of the noblest specimens of masonry in the world. The finest course of blocks is the eighth, counting upwards from the bottom; it has been estimated at nearly seven feet in height; and the whole elevation of the wall at this corner is said to amount to fully seventy feet. The lowest visible course of blocks is itself 129 feet above the bed of the Kidron.

On proceeding northwards along the outside of the eastern wall of the Haram, we must not omit to notice at a distance of 40 feet or more from the south-eastern corner, some blocks projecting from the wall at a certain height above the ground, which have been taken by several travellers for the spring stones of an arch, similar in character, though far inferior in size, to that projecting from the western Haram wall; but which seem to have been more correctly described by De Saulcy as the balcony of a large window, looking out on to the valley of the Kidron. The massive masonry is to be traced along the wall for a distance of about 214 feet from the south-eastern corner, and then, after an interval of 36 feet, for a distance of 30 feet more; but after this we have more than 600 feet of wall of purely modern construction. This part of the wall, however, is not entirely devoid of archæological interest; for there may be found built into it several fragments of pillars, which there is no reason to doubt, are to be regarded as relics of the cloisters of the antient Jewish temple. The most

remarkable of these is one known as the Pillar of Muhammed, on which the Musulmans believe that their prophet will descend to judge the world at the last day. This pillar is distant between three and four hundred feet (according to Tobler one hundred and twenty-four paces) from the south-eastern corner.

The different portions of the eastern wall of the Haram do not all stand in an accurate line with each other. Those parts which have been hitherto described are nearly in a line, and thus form a single projection of upwards of 900 feet. After this, we have a receding portion of about 59 feet in length, terminating at a small closed postern gate, probably the same as that which was known as the Gate of Jehoshaphat in the time of the crusaders. These 59 feet of wall are described by De Saulcy as not consisting of large blocks, but still as constructed of a highly elaborated material, and not to be confounded with the modern Turkish patchwork. After the postern we have another projection 174 feet in length, in the centre of which stands the Golden Gate, already noticed in a previous chapter, itself occupying a frontage of 55 feet, and standing between two less projecting fronts 50 feet and 69 feet long respectively. The foundations of these portions of the wall are constituted of the large bevelled masonry. We then have another receding portion of the wall, 303 feet in length, resting upon "a basement formed of two courses of primitive blocks, the upper course receding a little more than a foot behind the lower one." And lastly, we have another projecting portion, 84 feet long, in the northern part of which eleven courses of the large blocks have remained entire. The whole length of the eastern wall of the Haram has been measured at 1525, and that of the southern wall at 915 feet[1].

[1] I have carefully compared the descriptions and measurements of

The north-eastern angle of the Haram is clearly defined by an angle in the large masonry. But the whole of the northern side and also the whole of the western side of the Haram north of the Bâb es-Sinsleh are concealed from view by a continuous mass of modern houses; and although Mr Tipping has recorded that from glimpses stolen here and there among the houses, he believes the western side to be better preserved than either the eastern or southern, it would be somewhat rash to assume without further and more distinct evidence on the subject, that the whole of the western boundary of the Haram is marked by a wall of the same bevelled masonry as that already described.

Of the buildings within the precincts of the Haram, the principal is the Great Mosk, popularly but incorrectly known as the Mosk of 'Omar, which is built over the Sacred Rock from which the Musulmans believe

Wolcott (in Robinson's Bibl. Sac. 1843, p. 23), Tipping (Notes to Traill's Josephus, I. p. xlv.), Eli Smith (in Bibl. Sac. 1846, p. 625) and De Saulcy (Journey, II. pp. 103 seqq. Eng. Transl.). The discrepancies are not great: De Saulcy's measurements exceed those of the others on both the faces of the south-eastern corner, and I conclude that he has measured along the bottom of the wall so as to include the talus, and that they have intended to give the length along the top of the wall. De Saulcy appears to be in error with regard to the length of the northernmost portion but one of the eastern wall; and also with regard to the portion of the southern wall between the Saracenic and triple gates. I have also consulted Catherwood's plans in Fergusson's Essay. The following measures will doubtless be found approximately correct:—

	Feet.	
Length of Southern Wall of Haram:		
Part within the city, or covered by city-wall	371	
From city-wall to triple gate	230	
Triple gate: four piers 5ft., three arches 14ft.	62	
From triple gate to Saracenic gate	151	
Saracenic gate	8	
From Saracenic gate to S.E. corner	93	
		915
Length of Eastern Wall of Haram:		
Southern projecting portion	905	
Receding portion, to Gate of Jehoshaphat	59	
Projecting portion south of Golden Gate	50	
Frontage of Golden Gate	55	174
Projecting portion north of Golden Gate	69	
Receding portion	303	
Northern Tower	84	
		1525

that Muhammed took his journey into heaven. It was constructed by the khalif 'Abd-el-Melek Ibn Merwân A.D. 686—93. It stands nearly half-way between the northern and southern boundaries of the Haram, but very much nearer to the western than to the eastern side. Its form is octagonal, each side measuring 67 feet in length; and the quadrangular raised platform on which it stands covers altogether a space of between five and six acres. The south-western corner of the Haram, to a distance of 600 feet from the western wall, is more or less occupied by a succession of smaller mosks, of which the principal is that known as the Mosk el-Aksa. This building, which is generally allowed to have originally been the Church of St Mary, built by Justinian, is of an oblong form, 270 feet in length from north to south, and 183 feet in width from east to west; and its western wall is nearly 250 feet distant from the western wall of the Haram. Beneath the Mosk el-Aksa runs the corridor already noticed, communicating by a set of steps with the area to the north of the building. This is however far from being the only underground passage beneath the Haram. The whole of the south-eastern corner of the area is known to rest on a series of vaulted substructions, which were fully explored and measured by the enterprise of Mr Catherwood and his friends. They are now only accessible from the interior of the Haram; but there must formerly have been entrances to them by the gates already described in the exterior of the southern wall.

Having thus taken a comprehensive survey of the whole of the Haram esh-Sherîf, we must now proceed to determine the exact site on which the antient Jewish temple stood. The popular, and perhaps the prevailing opinion, is that the limits of the antient temple were precisely the same as those of the present area. Two

opposite feelings, or rather two different and seemingly opposite forms of the same feeling, have probably contributed to foster this view. On the one hand the worshippers of antiquity, not only assuming that that which is unknown must needs be magnificent, but also thence conversely concluding that the most splendid works of architecture must have necessarily been produced in those ages respecting which they have the least certain information, boldly assert that the massive masonry of which the Haram walls are in great part constructed can only have been the work of Solomon and his immediate successors. On the other hand, there are probably not a few, who, not content with tracing in the utter disappearance of the actual temple the fulfilment of our Saviour's words that not one stone of it should be left upon another, are too ready to believe without warrant that the site has been yet further profaned to the utmost degree to which profanation can be carried; and thence, by an inverse process of reasoning, conclude that the rock which is now enshrined in the Great Muhammedan Mosk, and which is above all others polluted by the legends of the false prophet connected with it, must have once been the most hallowed spot of the Jewish religion—the site of the Holy of Holies of the Jewish sanctuary. And if we thus allow that the Holy House of the Israelites stood nearly in the centre of the existing area, it will follow, if not as a necessary, at least as a probable corollary, that the boundary of the antient temple-courts and of the modern Haram was the same.

Such a conclusion however would ill accord with the testimony either of Josephus or of the Rabbies. The Haram esh-Sherîf, neglecting for the present the irregularities in its form, is an oblong whose sides are in the ratio of 5 to 3; whereas both Josephus and the Rabbies

represent the temple as square. Again, the shorter side of the Haram is more than 900 feet in length; whereas Josephus, who is the only authority for the extent of the precincts of the first temple, tells us that the whole enclosure of Solomon was four stadia in circuit, one stadium (or 600 feet) being the distance from one angle to another[1].

Apart from the evidence to be derived from the masonry of the Haram walls, there is no real reason for assuming that the whole of the ground included within the present open area must of necessity have formed part of the precincts of the temple. Nor is there anything in the form of the present area which would lead us to regard such an assumption as probable. On the contrary, the obliqueness of the northern boundary of the Haram stands of itself in the way of such a theory. The limits of the Haram at the north-western corner are defined, as has been observed in a previous chapter, both on the northern and western sides, by an artificial precipice of rock facing inwards. The scarped surface of the north-western part of the area shews that this precipice has been formed by cutting away the rock in that direction. Now as the northern and the western precipices are neither of them accurately in a line with the rest of the northern and western sides of the Haram respectively, it is difficult to conceive that the rock could have been cut away for the purpose of placing a corner of the temple-court there. But on the other hand, if the rock were originally cut away for some other purpose, (and we have seen that it was probably cut away by Simon Maccabeus when he levelled the Akra,) the existence of the precipice would easily explain how the Muhammedan khalifs selected this as the limit of their sacred area. The large pool Birket es-Serain would in

[1] Jos. Ant. xv. 11. 3.

the same way become the natural boundary of the north-eastern portion of the enclosure. And the explanation we are thus enabled to offer of the way in which the limits of the Haram esh-Sherîf were formed, relieves us at once from the necessity of supposing that the present area exactly corresponds to the precincts of the antient temple.

We have still however to examine into the alleged antiquity of the walls which enclose the Haram on the eastern, southern, and part of the western sides. Must we needs allow the whole of these to have been the work of Solomon and his successors, or shall we be justified in assigning to them a much later date? The arguments for referring them back to the time of Solomon are two: the immense size of the blocks of which the walls are constructed, and the fact that these blocks are bevelled. Let us sift each of these arguments in turn.

There is no solid reason, nor is there the slightest necessity, for disputing the extraordinary magnitude of the blocks which Solomon employed in the construction of his walls. Those who have ascribed to him the erection of the present Haram enclosure, have in this instance, through ignoring the historical records which ought to have served as the basis of their argument, fallen into the very opposite error to that which it might be expected they would have committed. They have not exaggerated but have underrated the real magnificence of Solomon's architecture. The largest block that has been measured in the Haram walls does not exceed or even reach 30 feet in length. But according to Josephus[1], the length of the blocks employed by Solomon was 40 cubits, or 60 feet; more than double the length of the former. This may appear at first thought

[1] Jos. B. J. v. 5. 1.

to be almost incredible; but in truth, such blocks are actually found in the walls of the temple enclosure at Ba'albek. In the western wall of this enclosure, in the course of masonry immediately above the base, are three stones, whose lengths are 64ft. 8in., 61ft. 10in., and 62ft. respectively. In the quarry near Ba'albek there lies a hewn stone of still larger dimensions, which was probably intended for the same wall: it measures 67 ft. 3in. in length, 13ft. 8in. in breadth, and 13ft. 5in. in depth. Now the city of Ba'albek is recorded by Macrobius to be of Assyrian origin, or rather, to have existed in the Assyrian times. It has been surmised that it was built by Solomon himself, who, as we know from Scripture, built Tadmor or Palmyra[1]. However this may be, there are good grounds for ascribing a very high antiquity to the wall of the temple enclosure at Ba'albek. It is true that the present ruined temples there date only from the Roman age. But De Saulcy has given good reasons for concluding that these temples "were raised upon the remains of a temple much more antient, and still more important with regard to the enormous size of the materials employed in its construction[2];" and the wall of the enclosure would probably be coeval with this more antient temple. It is here then that we have the type of the blocks which Josephus declares Solomon to have used: the blocks now seen in the Haram wall are but pigmies to these. The Haram blocks, although large in themselves, are surely not too large to have been placed there by the Herods, or even by later princes. We know from Josephus the size of the stones of which the Holy House itself was reconstructed by Herod the Great. They are described as 25 cubits in length, 8 in depth,

[1] 1 Kings ix. 18. 2 Chron. viii. 4.
[2] De Saulcy, Journey, II. p. 624. Eng. Transl.

and 12 in width[1]. Even these, if Josephus' measures be trustworthy, must have been larger than any of the stones now seen in the exterior Haram wall. Again, Josephus informs us that the stones employed by Herod Agrippa in building the new city-walls were 20 cubits long, and 10 broad[2]; which agrees more nearly with the dimensions of the larger blocks of the Haram: and as it will follow from the course of the succeeding argument that at least a considerable portion of the Haram walls is to be ascribed to Herod Agrippa, the coincidence is well worthy of attention.

But again, it has been noticed that the blocks of which the Haram walls are compacted, are bevelled; and this has also been urged by Robinson and others as a proof of the antiquity of the masonry. It is contended, that the form thus imparted to the blocks is a peculiarity of the early Jewish architecture. But this theory, although it has gained credit by its plausibility, and by the confident manner in which it has been repeatedly advanced, rests on no solid foundation. Of the six or eight different buildings in which stones have been found bevelled in the same manner as those that compose the walls of the Haram[3], not one can be independently proved to be of early Jewish origin. And even granting that bevelled stones were employed by Jewish masons of the days of Solomon, it is admitted that something of a similar kind is to be found in the rustic style of Roman architecture under the later emperors. In the blocks of the Haram indeed, and of the other places in Palestine, the bevelling is performed by cutting down a narrow strip along the edges of the blocks to a depth of a quarter or half an inch below the rest of the surface; whereas in the Roman specimens

[1] Jos. Ant. xv. 11. 3.
[2] Jos. B. J. v. 4. 2.
[3] See Robinson in Bibl. Sac. 1846, pp. 213, 615.

the edges of the blocks are altogether slanted off. But if this latter be an exaggeration of the bevelled style, and were borrowed (as it is admitted that it may have been) from the east, it seems only reasonable to assume that the Romans must themselves have adopted the original bevelled style before they proceeded to alter and exaggerate it. That the Herods for example, while building in the Roman style of architecture, and employing architects of the Roman school, (as was most likely their practice,) should yet have copied and imitated the bevelled masonry of their Jewish predecessors, cannot appear other than probable; the more especially if they worked up into their walls any of the bevelled blocks saved from the ruins of former edifices. We have already seen that there are independent reasons for ascribing the erection of the Damascus gate, and of the wall in which it stood, both of which were originally compacted of bevelled masonry, to the period of the rebuilding of the city by Hadrian. The north-eastern tower of the citadel of modern Jerusalem, the lower part of which is built with bevelled stones, is referred even by Robinson himself to the reign of Herod[1]. Reasons, deduced from the language of Josephus, have been given in the course of the present volume for assigning to it a considerably later date; but it is perfectly unnecessary, and might be unsafe, to insist too strongly upon these, if only it be granted that it was not built before the Herodian period. In short the state of the argument seems to be this: that while no independent proof can be given of the use of the bevelled masonry before the time of the Romans, there are in-

[1] Robinson, Bib. Res. I. p. 456. Again, De Saulcy's narrative seems to imply that the walls that enclose the garden of the Mosk el-Aksa are constructed of bevelled stones; yet no one but De Saulcy himself has thought of referring those walls to the age of Solomon. See his Journey, II. pp. 120, 121. Eng. Translation.

dependent reasons for assigning some of the buildings in which it is to be found to the Roman age. Even though internal evidence should be thought to render the early use of the bevelled masonry probable, external evidence will still compel us to regard its employment in later times as nearly certain.

We are at liberty then to regard the bevelled masonry of the Haram walls as the work of the Roman period; and the only remaining obligation upon us will be to give a satisfactory account of the occasions on which the walls were erected. And as the northern part, or if necessary, the whole of the eastern wall of the Haram may be considered as part of the Great Wall with which the New City was enclosed in the time of Herod Agrippa, it will appear that the bevelled masonry of the southern and western walls of the Haram is all that can with certainty be regarded as having once appertained to the temple. The obvious inference seems to be, that the south-western corner of the present area is identical in position with the south-western corner of the antient temple-court, but that the dimensions of the temple-court can only be determined by a reference to historical testimony. We shall however find the testimony of Josephus and the Talmud strongly confirmed in several points, in an incidental manner, by the remnants of antiquity which the Haram still offers to our notice.

In the first place, the Rabbies inform us that the temple-mount was a square of 500 cubits[1]. It has been alleged, not without reason, that this statement rests on no better foundation than the details of the description of the vision-temple of Ezekiel. The following coincidence, however, precludes us from summarily rejecting it. The cubit which was in use among the Jews after

[1] Middoth. II. 1.

the captivity, was probably that mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel as a handbreadth longer than the older cubit. Now assuming that the original Jewish measures were borrowed from the Egyptians, and that the earlier cubit of six and a half handbreadths equalled 1.5856 English feet, the later cubit of an additional handbreadth will equal 1.8295, or for shortness' sake, 1.83 English feet[1]; and 500 of these will amount to 915 feet, the exact length of the southern wall of the Haram. It is difficult to conceive that this coincidence can be entirely accidental.

On the other hand Josephus states that the whole enclosure of Solomon was four stadia in circuit, one stadium being the distance from one angle to another[2]. But he also distinctly informs us that Herod, at the time that he restored the temple, walled in the space round it to double the extent of the space before occupied[3]; and in describing the temple such as it was in the days of Titus, he states that the whole circuit of the porticoes, including also the fortress Antonia, was six stadia[4]. Now the stadium measures 600 Greek feet, or nearly 607 English feet; and the fourth part of six stadia will therefore amount to 910 English feet, which so nearly coincides with the length of one side of the Rabbinic square, that the difference is utterly unimportant; especially as we ought not to expect that the dimensions of a Jewish building could be expressed to any very minute degree of accuracy in Greek stadia.

We cannot however admit the supposition that Herod actually enlarged the outer court of the temple itself; for we have the testimony of Josephus, that Herod's new southern portico was only one stadium in

[1] See Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology, Vol. I. pp. 379—385.

[2] Jos. Ant. xv. 11. 3.

[3] Jos. B. J. I. 21. 1.

[4] Jos. B. J. v. 5. 2.

length[1]; and we know that the eastern portico was never pulled down by Herod, much less removed[2]. It follows, that the additional space enclosed by Herod still remained exterior to the porticoes, and to the temple-courts, strictly so called. For reasons which need not be enumerated in detail, as they can easily be gathered from the course of the following argument, we may assume that no space was added by Herod either on the western or southern side. The proposition then which it will be our endeavour to establish is this: that the temple and its courts, strictly so called, formed a square each of whose sides was one stadium in length, and that they occupied the south-western corner of the present Haram esh-Sherîf; that the ground between the eastern portico of the temple and the eastern wall of the Haram was first enclosed by Herod the Great; and that the fortress Antonia, of which we shall presently have to speak, stood to the north of the temple at its north-western corner, so that the western wall of the temple was prolonged northwards by the fortress to the distance of about half a stadium.

Our first proof of the proposition just stated, is that already adduced by Mr Fergusson, whose investigations into the extent and position of the temple constitute by far the most valuable portion of his Essay. It is this: that at the distance of about 600 feet from the western wall of the Haram, there runs a wall beneath the ground in a northerly direction, exactly corresponding to what must have been, on the above view, the eastern wall of the temple of Solomon; and that to the east of this the Haram area rests on a series of vaulted substructions which never could have supported any part of the splendid colonnade with which Herod adorned the southern front of the temple-court. In Mr Fergusson's

[1] Jos. Ant. xv. 11. 5. [2] Jos. Ant. xx. 9. 7.

words, the vaults "are in the first place so irregularly spaced that it is absurd to suppose such a colonnade could have stood on them, several of the piers being 17 feet apart (from west to east), some less, one at least 30, and two others 21; while on the other hand, no one can suppose that such columns as Josephus describes, at least 5 feet (probably 6) in diameter and 37 feet in height, could have stood on the vaults between the piers, which are so weak that the olive trees have struck their roots through them; nor indeed could the piers themselves support them, as they are only 3ft. 6in. by 3ft. 2in. in section[1]." The inference is, that the underground wall just described was the eastern boundary of the temple, and that Herod's southern colonnade extended no further eastward; the vaults being in all probability the work of Justinian, and therefore constructed between five and six centuries after Herod's time[2].

The following circumstance will in like manner shew that the temple-court did not extend more than one stadium northward along the western wall of the Haram. Josephus relates that on the western side of the temple circuit there were four gates, of which one led to the palace by an artificial passage that stretched across the intervening valley; two led into the suburb; the last led into the rest of the city by a series of steps descending into the valley, and thence ascending again on the opposite side[3]. These steps, conducting from the fourth gate, are represented, as we have already seen, by the spring stones of the ruined arch which once supported them; while the passage conducting from the first or northernmost gate is the still existing causeway of which we have so often spoken, the Millo of the Old Testament. As there were in all four gates, we may be

[1] Fergusson, Essay, p. 9.

[2] See Note C at end of volume.

[3] Jos. Ant. xv. 11. 5. See above, p. 96.

certain that the northernmost of the four could not have been very far distant from the northern extremity of the western side. But the centre of the Bâb es-Sinsleh, the gate which now opens on to the causeway, is, as has been stated, only 550 feet from the southern extremity of the Haram, according to the Ordnance Survey: the plans of Catherwood and Tobler give a somewhat greater distance. If we should suppose that the northernmost and southernmost of the four western gates were equidistant from the northern and southern walls of the temple respectively, we should, adopting the Ordnance position of the Bâb es-Sinsleh, and Dr Robinson's measures of the ruined arch, obtain one stadium and a few feet as the length of the western temple-wall; which is probably very near the truth.

Other coincidences will be furnished by the internal details of the temple; but before we proceed to these, we must direct our attention to the history and the position of the fortress Antonia, which comes so prominently before our notice in the history of Jerusalem during the Roman period. The origin of this fortress, which must be carefully distinguished from the Akra of the times of the Maccabees, and from the old stronghold of Zion, is a matter of some uncertainty. It has been supposed by Schultz and others to be the same mentioned in the Book of Nehemiah under the title "castle of the temple[1]." However this may be, there is no reason to doubt that the towers of Meah and Hananeel, mentioned in the third chapter of Nehemiah, were identical in position with the two southern corner-towers of the whole fortress as enlarged and refortified by Herod. In the time of the Asmonæan sovereigns, the fortress was known by the name Baris, which seems

[1] Neh. ii. 8. הבירה אשר לבית "palace which appertained to the house," Eng. Ver.

to be merely a Greek form of the Hebrew *Birah*, "a castle:" and in the history of the Asmonæan period, Josephus speaks of it in one place as "the fortress above the temple[1];" in another, as the "acropolis[2]." But under the superintendence of Herod the Great, who first bestowed upon it the name Antonia, in honour of his benefactor Marc Antony, it underwent a process of thorough alteration and repair, even if it were not entirely rebuilt from the foundations; Josephus calling it expressly the work of Herod, and telling us that in the construction of no other building was that monarch's characteristic magnificence more fully displayed. "It was situate at the north-western angle of the temple, and was built upon a rock fifty cubits in height, and steep on every side. The face of this rock was first covered from the bottom with polished slabs of stone, both to add beauty to its appearance, and also with the intent that no one might be able to ascend or descend along so slippery a surface. The edge of the summit of the rock was fortified all round by a wall three cubits high; the whole space included within this wall formed the Antonia, and was raised to a height of forty cubits. Everything within presented the appearance of a royal court; the fortress containing within itself buildings and offices for all purposes, porticoes, baths, and places of parade suited for the use and service of a camp; and uniting in short the conveniences of an entire city with the splendour of a single palace. The whole was of tower-like appearance; but it was specially fortified by four separate towers at the four corners, of which that at the south-eastern corner was 70 cubits in height and commanded a view of the whole temple; the other three were fifty cubits high[3]." There is no position in

[1] Jos. Ant. XIII. 16. 5. [2] Jos. Ant. XIV. 1. 2.
[3] Jos. B. J. V. 5. 8.

the neighbourhood of the temple answering to the description of a rock "steep on every side;" and it is difficult to acquit Josephus of exaggeration in the use of this expression. Probably the rock on which the Antonia stood was steep on one side; and, of course, on one of the sides not facing toward the temple. For this reason it is impossible to assent to the view of those who place the Antonia on the site of the present Seraiyah or Turkish government-house on the rock at the north-west corner of the Haram; for the precipice presented by that rock is on its southern and eastern sides, and would have been covered and concealed by the porticoes of the temple, had the temple reached so far north. The only rock which seems at all to answer to the site of the Antonia is the Sacred Rock of the Moslems, the summit of which protrudes about five feet above the marble pavement in the centre of the Great Mosk, and stands altogether about thirty-three feet higher than the level of the outer area of the Haram esh-Sherîf[1]. What may be the form of this rock beneath the sacred platform it is impossible to say; but there is no difficulty in believing that it presents a steep precipice to the east, and if we suppose that the eastern wall of the Antonia stood on the edge of this precipice, the appearance presented by the fortress on its eastern face would sufficiently explain the description which the historian gives of it generally. Now the eastern extremity of the Sacred Rock is distant from the western wall of the Haram, according to Catherwood's plan, about 350 feet; which 350 feet we may therefore take to be the measure of a line drawn through the fortress from west to east. The dimensions of the Antonia are

[1] The pavement is 12 feet higher than the sacred platform (Williams, Holy City, II. p. 303); and the platform 16 feet higher than the outer area (Catherwood).

nowhere stated by Josephus; but the extensive accommodation of all kinds in its interior, coupled with the existence of the four lofty towers at its four corners, seems well to accord with the hypothesis that the fortress was about 300 or 350 feet square.

It is indeed objected by Mr Fergusson, that such dimensions as these cannot be understood as applying to any one single building or tower, because there being but four flanking towers in all, these would be too wide apart, and the curtain of wall between them would be incapable of proper defence[1]. He urges that the strength of an antient place consisted in the size and frequency of its flanking towers; that the towers of the city-wall were only 150 feet apart, and that the citadel Antonia must have been at least as strong as the outer city enclosure. He accordingly propounds the hypothesis, that the tower of the Antonia was itself a keep of not more than 150 or 180 feet square, and was, like one of our medieval fortresses, surrounded by an exterior vallum, enclosing an outer court. But he either misapprehends or does not sufficiently bear in mind the design with which the Antonia was erected. For there can be little doubt that the object Herod had in view in its construction was not to fortify Jerusalem against a foreign enemy, but to overawe and keep in control his own subjects within the city; not to protect the temple, but to command it. After Herod's death the Romans took possession of the Antonia for the same purpose; and by occupying the fortress with a garrison of soldiers, were enabled at once to quell any tumult that might arise within the city[2]. And although the Antonia

[1] Fergusson, Essay, p. 32. But the dimensions that he calculates for the Antonia are somewhat larger than those assigned it in the text: he reckons about 500 feet for each side.

[2] See for example Acts xxi. 32 seqq.

proves the scene of a vigorous conflict in the history of the siege of Jerusalem, yet it does not come before us as possessing any of the characteristic features of a castle, properly so called. The Romans attack it in just the same manner as they have attacked the city-wall previously; and the Jewish leader John of Gischala raises a second wall behind the wall which the Romans are assailing, just as he would behind any ordinary city-wall; and so when the Romans have mastered the first wall, they unexpectedly discover that all their labours must be repeated. But after that the reserve wall is taken, it does not appear that the Jews have any further castle or keep into which to flee, but they forthwith retreat into the temple, leaving the Romans in complete possession of the Antonia[1]. Mr Fergusson's hypothesis is thus refuted by the narrative of Josephus himself; and there is no valid reason for reducing the dimensions of the fortress below those already stated.

One feature in the Sacred Rock of the Musulmans which has justly attracted attention, is an aperture communicating with a cave beneath, and probably also by means of the cave with some underground channel or passage. Prof. Willis and Mr Williams, who identify the Sacred Rock with the place of the Jewish altar, suppose that this was the drain by which the blood of the sacrifices was allowed to escape, and connect it with a sewer the mouth of which is still to be seen in the ravine of the Kidron above the Fountain of the Virgin[2].

[1] Jos. B. J. VI. 1.

[2] Williams, Holy City, II. pp. 341, 342, and note. The coincidences alleged in support of the conjecture are curious; but it is obvious to ask how a rock of uneven surface, such as is the Sakhrah, could ever have formed the threshing-floor of Araunah, on the site of which, as we know, the Jewish altar was built. The narrative 2 Sam. xxiv. 22, 1 Chron. xxi. 23, shews that Araunah performed his threshing by means of oxen; and where oxen were employed, the threshing-floors were formed by

But we may with better reason suppose that this cave was the entrance to the secret passage which Herod is related to have formed, leading from the fortress Antonia to the eastern gate of the inner court of the temple[1]. Over this gate, and in connexion with the passage, Herod constructed a tower as a place of refuge for himself in the event of a popular tumult; and we have thus a curious illustration of the precautions which he took, in the true spirit of a tyrant, to guard his person against the evil consequences of the disaffection of his own subjects.

The new city Bezetha was divided, we are told, from the Antonia by a deep fosse, purposely excavated in order to sever the foundations of Antonia from the hill, and so to add to their elevation and render them less easy of access[2]. No traces of this fosse are now to be seen; for taking into account the position which we have assigned to the Antonia, it is impossible to identify the fosse or any part of it with the Birket es-Serain to the north-east of the Haram. Nor do the measures agree: the fosse was according to Strabo 250 feet broad and 60 deep[3]: the Birket es-Serain is only 130 feet broad; but though much choked up with rubbish is still 75 feet deep. It seems therefore reasonable to suppose that the fosse of the Antonia is now (unless it has ever been filled up) concealed beneath the platform of the Great Mosk. It is a matter of obvious difficulty to produce any evidence to shew that such is the case. There is however in the itinerary of the Bordeaux pilgrim, A.D. 333, a mention of certain "large subter-

merely selecting a level spot, and there beating the earth down hard. The sheaves were then spread thick upon the floor, and the grain trodden out by the animals employed. See the description of such threshing-floors in Robinson, Bib. Res. II. p. 277.

[1] Jos. Ant. XV. 11. 7.

[2] Jos. B. J. V. 4. 2.

[3] Strabo, lib. XVI. (apud Williams).

ranean reservoirs, and pools constructed with great labour[1]." These are distinct from the Birket es-Serain, and from another pool which formerly existed to the north of the Birket es-Serain, both of which the pilgrim had previously mentioned; and from the place in the itinerary in which they occur, they would well suit the position of the present platform of the Dome of the Rock. And as the fosse on the east side of the Antonia would be contiguous to the sheep-gate, which as we have already seen, was the north gate of the temple, there can be little ground for doubting that this was identical with the pool Bethesda, mentioned in the Gospel of St John as the scene of the miraculous healing of the impotent man[2]. The fanciful Muhammedan tradition that their Sacred Rock is suspended between heaven and earth may be considered as somewhat favouring the hypothesis that it really forms part of the edge of a precipice the base of which is surrounded by a fosse of water; and though the present dome may not have been erected on purpose "to conceal the terrific marvels of the place," as the pious Mejîr ed-Dîn would have us believe, yet it may be not the less true that the platform of the dome conceals from public view what would be of great archæological interest[3].

In Josephus' narrative of the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey, it is stated that he took up his position outside[4] on the north of the temple, in the only part where an assault was practicable. Even there the temple was defended by high towers, and by a trench which had

[1] Itin. Burdig. ed. Wesseling. p. 590: "Sunt ibi excepturia magna, et piscinæ magno opere ædificatæ."

[2] Joh. v. 2. It is generally agreed that ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ should be rendered "by the sheep-*gate*;" for there is no evidence of the existence of a sheep-market at Jerusalem.

[3] Mejîr ed-Din, xx. 9, in App. to Williams' Memoir, p. 147.

[4] Jos. Ant. xiv. 4. 3. The Greek text has ἔσωθεν; but the Latin version gives *extra*.

been formed, and by a deep valley which surrounded it. A mound was however raised by the Romans, and the trench was filled up, although not without considerable labour, on account of its great depth; and the temple was ultimately taken after a siege of three months. It seems to follow from this account, that before Pompey's time, a valley ran along that eastern part of the northern side of the temple which was not protected by the fortress Antonia, or Baris, as it was then called; but that this valley in great measure disappeared in consequence of Pompey's operations during the siege. Traces of a valley, debouching into the valley of the Kidron near the middle of the eastern wall of the Haram esh-Sherîf, and which seemed to have been artificially filled up, were detected by the late Dr Schultz. He expresses himself indeed but doubtfully on the subject; but his testimony is all the more valuable because the historical point of view in which he treated his own discovery is entirely different from that in which, if the traces really exist, they ought to be regarded[1].

There is one further question respecting the circumference of the later temple, which naturally suggests itself, but to which it is not easy to reply, or at least to reply with any degree of certainty. Was the ground to the due east of the fortress Antonia, and to the north-east of the temple-court, enclosed by Herod in the same way as that which lay to the due east of the temple? In other words, did the temple and its courts, along

[1] Schultz, Jerusalem, p. 55. He identifies the traces he discovered as those of the valley filled up by the Asmonæans, which he wrongly places in this position. He says of it, "es muss mitten durch das Parallelogram gegangen sein, welches auf dem Plan den Umfang des heutigen Harâm angiebt; und in der That ist auf der Ostseite desselben an der betreffenden Stelle der Boden von solcher Beschaffenheit, dass sich vielleicht noch jetzt die Spuren der künstlichen Ausfüllung erkennen lassen."

with the Antonia and with the exterior ground enclosed by Herod, form a perfect square of five hundred cubits, or did it form an irregular hexagonal figure, the Antonia standing out as a projection on the northern face? The former hypothesis is in some measure supported by the testimony of the Rabbies, that the temple was 500 cubits square. It is also supported to a certain extent by the assertion of Josephus, that Herod made the extent of the temple double what it was before,—which could not have been the case had he merely enclosed the ground to the due east of the temple-court. It receives still further support from the fact that the line of the eastern wall of the Haram is, as has been already remarked, broken at a distance of rather more than 900 feet from its southern extremity; which leads to the conclusion that the corner thus formed in the wall marks in fact the north-eastern corner of the temple enclosure. But on the other hand the description of the city given us by Josephus seems at first sight to require that the ground due east of the Antonia should be regarded as having formed part of the New City Bezetha, which was, as he tells us, contiguous to the Antonia, and was separated from it only by the fosse. If however the line of the temple enclosure be drawn westward from the corner of the masonry in the eastern Haram wall as far as the fosse, the north-eastern corner of the Antonia may still be said to have been cut off by the fosse from Bezetha; and perhaps this may be Josephus' meaning. But however this question may be solved, the perimeter of the whole enclosure will in either case be six stadia, the measure assigned to it by Josephus; and the question is therefore perhaps more curious than important.

Even should it be admitted that the form of the entire Herodian area was quadrilateral, it must be fairly

confessed that this square of 400 small cubits, enlarged to a square of 500 great cubits by taking in the ground to the east and north of the temple-court, does not in all respects correspond to the conceptions of the Rabbies, when they describe the temple-mount as 500 cubits square. Without doubt, they intended this as the measure of the temple-court; for they make no distinction between an outer court and a portion of enclosed ground exterior to the courts altogether. The absolute correctness of the Rabbinical conceptions of the temple it is impossible to admit without rejecting the far more trustworthy statements of Josephus. But while denying the accuracy of the form in which they have presented their traditions to us, we must admit the probability of their having had a basis of truth on which to proceed; and it is surely far more scientific to search for the truth which lies concealed beneath their statements, than to dismiss them altogether as destitute of all historical foundation.

The site and dimensions of the temple-court being thus determined, we may proceed to the examination of the porticoes by which this court was surrounded. Of these by far the most magnificent was that which ran along the southern side—the Stoa Basilica, or Royal Portico, of Herod[1]. It consisted, as Mr Fergusson has fully shewn, of four parallel rows of forty pillars each, one of which was built into the southern wall, while the other three stood free. Of the three walks thus formed between the pillars, the two outer passages or aisles were each 30 feet in width, the central walk or nave measured 45 feet. The stairs which were supported by the ruined arch in the western wall of the Haram must have formed an approach to this nave of the portico; and as the whole number of pillars is stated by Jose-

[1] Jos. Ant. xv. 11. 3: compare Fergusson, Essay, pp. 8 seqq.

phus at 162, Mr Fergusson is probably right in placing the two odd pillars so as to support the architrave that crossed the nave at its western end. The columns were of the Corinthian order, and were 27 feet in height. With regard to their thickness, Josephus expresses himself in terms of high admiration: he says that they were so great that three men could just make their arms meet round them. But on computing their thickness from this datum, it will not be found that they were of any extraordinary size. The orgyia, or length of the outstretched arms, when employed by the Greeks as the technical name of a fixed measure, equalled six Greek feet; and even allowing that a man when throwing his arms round a column might be able to stretch somewhat further, six feet may be regarded as the utmost measure of the diameter of Herod's columns. The columns of the northern temple at Ba'albek are seven feet in diameter. The inference therefore is that the columns of Herod's portico were advantageously placed, so as to appear thicker, or at any rate not less thick, than they really were. We are thus confirmed in our adherence to the statement of Josephus, that the portico was not more than one stadium in length; and we must agree with Mr Fergusson in rejecting the excessive intercolumniation of 23 feet which would result from carrying the colonnade along the whole of the southern wall of the Haram. Assuming one stadium as the entire length of the portico, we obtain for the width of a single intercolumniation about 15 feet, one third of the cross width of the nave, and one half of that of each of the aisles. It has indeed been urged, that as the architraves of Herod's portico were constructed of timber, the intercolumniation must have been aræostyle, or beyond the usual width[1]. But his is hardly a necessary con-

[1] Willis, in Williams' Memoir, Note A. p. 128.

sequence; for Herod probably employed wooden architraves not for the sake of being able to place his columns wider apart, but as being more in keeping with the rest of the temple. The roofs of the portico were adorned with carvings of great richness. Each of the aisles was more than 50 feet high; and the height of the nave was double that of the aisles, its roof being supported by walls resting on the entablature of the pillars below. These walls were themselves adorned with other rows of pillars, and the parts between the pillars were polished with exquisite delicacy.

We are informed by Josephus that there were, on the south side of the temple, gates in the middle; and the Talmud also speaks of two gates of Huldah along the southern front[1]. As they both bore the same name, they probably both belonged to the same gateway; and there can be little doubt that this was the double gateway which still remains, opening into the corridor beneath the Mosk el-Aksa. The floor of Herod's portico must have passed over the top of it; and the spaces between the columns that stood over the gateway must have been somewhat wider than the rest, and could not have measured less than 21 feet. It will be found, on computation, that these must have been the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth intercolumniations, reckoning eastward; so that the gateway must have been situate somewhat to the east of the exact centre of the portico This arrangement was probably adopted in consequence of the disposition of the gates of the inner court.

The porticoes on the remaining sides consisted of not more than two alleys[2], and were 30 cubits or 45 feet in width; but the columns of which they were formed

[1] Middoth, I. 3. The gates are there said to have been used for the purposes of ingress and egress: does this imply that men went in by the one and came out by the other?

[2] Jos. B. J. v. 5. 2. So also the Talmud: cf. Lightfoot, Prospect, cap. VIII.

were considerably loftier than those of Herod's portico, reaching to the height of 25 cubits, or nearly 38 feet. Like the columns of Herod's portico, they were surmounted by wooden architraves[1]. The most celebrated of these cloisters was that on the eastern side, known as Solomon's Porch[2], and frequently mentioned in the New Testament as a place of public resort[3]. If not the work of Solomon himself, it must at least have been built on the foundations of that which he erected, and it continued to bear his name. We shall hereafter see that it was probably of no great extent, and was not continued along the whole of the eastern side. Indeed there is no reason to suppose that there was any continuous cloister round the whole of the outer court of the temple: much of the space immediately within the outer wall was originally occupied by chambers; and we have no record of these being removed to make room for porticoes. The very name "Solomon's Porch" as applied to the eastern cloister favours the conclusion that it was unconnected with the rest. And when we are told that the tower Antonia had descents down into each of the porticoes that it adjoined[4], it is implied that porticoes existed both on the northern and western sides of the court, but that they did not communicate directly with each other. It was from one of these staircases, leading down from "the castle" into the temple, that St Paul, after his arrest by the Roman garrison, obtained leave to address the people[5].

The gate on the eastern side of the court, leading into Solomon's Porch, was known as the Gate of Shushan; and either the gateway itself, or one of the chambers above it, was adorned with a representation of

[1] Jos. B. J. VI. 3. 1.
[2] Jos. Ant. XX. 9. 7.
[3] Joh. x. 23. Acts iii. 11; v. 12.
[4] Jos. B. J. V. 5. 8.
[5] Acts xxi. 34—40.

the city of Shushan, the capital of the Persian empire. The gate probably dated either from the restoration of the Jews under Cyrus, or from the period of the dedication of the temple in the reign of Darius: others have thought that the sculpture was executed at the time of the institution of the Feast of Purim, in memory of the deliverance of the Jews in Shushan through the intercession of queen Esther[1]. The gate on the northern side, known in Scripture as the sheep-gate, bears in the Talmud the name Teri or Tedi. It must, of course, have stood to the east of the Antonia, and perhaps its place along the northern wall may have exactly corresponded with that of the gateway Huldah along the southern front. Of the four western temple-gates we have already spoken: the Rabbies are here in error, for they mention but one, and call it the gate Kiponus, probably a mere Jewish corruption of Coponius. Coponius was the first procurator of Judea after the banishment of Archelaus; and either the gate at the end of the causeway, or that opening into Herod's portico, may have been named in honour of him. The position of these, the northernmost and southernmost of the four gates on the western side, has been already accurately investigated. Respecting one of the two intermediate gates, we may perhaps determine somewhat more than its position. In exploring the dark rooms at the southern end of the Jews' wailing-place, Dr Barclay discovered a huge portal of a gateway at the junction of Abu Se'ud's house with the Haram wall. The lintel is seven feet in depth, and that part of it which is visible is 16 feet in length; but the house of Abu Se'ud secludes the remainder from sight, so that its total length cannot be well ascertained[2]. The portal

[1] See Middoth, I. 3. Lightfoot, Prospect, cap. III.

[2] Bartlett's Jerusalem Revisited, p. 150.

had been previously noticed by the Spanish traveller Ali Bey, who describes the lintel as 20 feet in length[1]; and both he and Dr Barclay recognized it as one of the gates of the temple. The stones with which the gate is blocked up are small; and the height of the lintel above the ground is, owing to the accumulation of the soil without, not more than four or five feet[2].

The exact position of the inner court of the temple with respect to its distance from each of the four walls of the outer court is somewhat uncertain; but it may be approximately determined by the statement in the Talmud, that the greatest space of the temple-mount (that is, of the outer court) was on the south side, the next greatest on the east, the next on the north, and the least on the west[3]. "Where the greater space was," add the Rabbies, "there was the greater use for it:" a remark which it is not difficult to understand; for more than 100 feet of the space on the southern side was taken up by Herod's portico, while on the eastern side where the principal entrance was, or at least had been before Herod's time, it is also natural to suppose that a considerable space would be required. That part of the outer court which lay within the porticoes, and was open to the air, was, we are told, paved with stones of various colours[4]. Several remnants of mosaic were picked up by De Saulcy in the valley of the Kidron, and he ascertained that similar fragments were to be found within the Haram esh-Sherîf. These he supposes to have formed part of the pavement of the porticoes of the temple[5].

[1] Ali Bey, Travels, etc. II. p. 226. His narrative conveys the perhaps erroneous impression that he saw the inside of the portal. Comp. Williams, Holy City, II. p. 309.

[2] So a friend writes me word, in a letter from Jerusalem. He also, like Ali Bey, speaks of the lintel as 20 feet in length.

[3] Middoth, II. 1.

[4] Jos. B. J. v. 5. 2.

[5] De Saulcy, Journey, II. p. 132. He refers them to an earlier period

The outer court, with its porticoes, may be regarded as having constituted the ordinary public walk of antient Jerusalem. It formed, as we shall find, no part of the original temple of Solomon; it was open to any one, whether Jew or Gentile, who chose to enter it; and it has accordingly, in modern times, been generally known as the Court of the Gentiles; a name suggested perhaps by the vision in the Apocalypse[1]. In a certain sense, there was a degree of sanctity attaching to it, for Jerusalem is generally spoken of as the Holy City, and Mount Zion was undoubtedly esteemed the most holy part of Jerusalem; but that it was not regarded as consecrated ground according to the usual meaning of the term is clear from the ordinances respecting the future temple in the prophecy of Ezekiel. It is there decreed, that in the future temple, the whole limit of the temple round about on the top of the mountain should be most holy; which proves that in the historical temple such was not the case[2].

On the other hand it is distinctly asserted by Josephus, that the interior enclosure, or as he calls it, the second temple, was accounted holy. An ornamented stone barrier, three cubits high, (or according to the Talmud not above ten handbreadths,) separated it from the outer court; and posts were placed at regular intervals, with notices in Greek and Latin, warning strangers not to enter. Within this barrier a series of twelve or fourteen steps led on to a sort of terrace, ten cubits wide, which ran all round, and to which the Rab-

than that of Herod; but as we have seen that he is, in common with others, in error with regard to the date of the Haram masonry, we may perhaps venture to suspect his power of discriminating the age of a mosaic.

[1] Rev. xi. 2.

[2] Ezek. xliii. 12. The lovers of Rabbinical frivolities may gratify their curiosity as to the different holiness of the several parts of the temple, &c. by consulting Lightfoot, Temple Service, cap. I.

bies give the name Hel, identifying it with the *hel* or rampart mentioned in the Lamentations of Jeremiah[1]. From this terrace four gates on the north and four on the south side gave access to the interior: the eastern-most gate however on each side led only into the Court of the Women, which was situate to the east of the inner court, properly so called. There was also an entrance into the Court of the Women on the east side by a magnificent gate of Corinthian brass, the same that is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles as "the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful[2]."

The dimensions of the Court of the Women, which formed a kind of ante-court to the rest of the Inner temple, and which was by no means as we might have supposed from its name appropriated to the women only, are stated in the Talmud at 135 cubits long by 135 broad[3]. This length of 135 cubits from east to west it is impossible to admit; for there would not in that case be room for the whole Inner temple to stand within the porticoes of the outer court such as they are described by Josephus. And moreover, as only one gate out of four, both on the northern and southern sides, led into the Court of the Women, it is reasonable to think that this could not at most have been much more than one quarter the length of the whole Inner temple. The Rabbies have, as Mr Fergusson justly observes, confused the Court of the Women with the outer court of the vision-temple of Ezekiel; and it is probably on this account that they have made it a perfect square. For the same reason we must receive with some distrust their account of the chambers in the four corners of the Court of the Women; which, they tell us, served respectively for the shaving of the Nazarites[4], for the

[1] Lam. ii. 8. Middoth, II. 3.
[2] Acts iii. 2.
[3] Middoth, II. 5.
[4] See Numbers vi. 18.

preparing of the wood for sacrifice, for the purification of the lepers, and for storing up the wine and oil. It is possible that these chambers may be merely a Rabbinical version of the small courts in the corners of the outer court of the temple of Ezekiel[1].

Fifteen steps, disposed in the form of a semicircle, led westward by the Gate of Nicanor from the Court of the Women into the Court of Israel; which could also be entered by any of the gates on the north or south sides already mentioned. From the measures of Josephus, who states the exterior height of the wall of the Inner temple at 40 cubits, and its interior height at 25 cubits, it follows that the floor of the inner was raised 15 cubits above that of the outer court. These fifteen cubits seem to have been distributed between the 12 or 14 steps leading from the outer court on to the terrace, the 5 steps leading from the terrace into the Court of the Women, and the 15 steps conducting from this last into the Court of Israel. In ascending from the terrace directly into the Court of Israel on the north or south sides there must have been single sets of steps of the same height as the two last-mentioned series put together. On either side of each of the gates leading from the terrace into the Court of Israel were spaces called by Josephus exedræ, each about 30 cubits square; and the Talmud specifies, though with considerable confusion and indistinctness, the particular purpose to which each of these chambers was appropriated. I have marked the several names of these chambers in the plan according to Lightfoot's arrangement, and I shall therefore pass over them here, as it is hardly worth while to enter into the details which he has collected respecting them. One curious coincidence, detected by Mr Fergusson, may be noticed: part of the easternmost chamber on

[1] Ezek. xlvi. 21.

the southern side was called the draw-well room, from the draw-well in it; now this room must have exactly occupied the spot where there still exists a well within the Mosk el-Aksa. The gate immediately to the west of this, called the water-gate, opened directly upon the altar, and must have been also in a line with the gate-way Huldah of the outer court[1]. In the same way it will easily be seen that the washing room and the high-priest's bath of Parbah on the north side of the court must have been supplied by the huge reservoir over which the Orange Fountain now stands, half way between the Mosk el-Aksa and the Dome of the Rock. We may further remark, that besides the gates already mentioned leading from the terrace into the inner court, there may have also been other bye-gates or posterns, leading into some of the chambers. Of one such, at least, there seems to be some mention, conducting from the terrace into the room Mokad, the westernmost room on the northern side, and thence into the court[2].

The Court of Israel, so called, was nothing more than the cloister or portico that passed round the interior of the inner area. It was eleven cubits wide on the east side, and eight cubits wide on the north and south sides; and was separated from the Court of the Priests, which it encircled, by a sort of foot-cornice, one cubit in height, running along the ground between the pillars of the cloister. In this cloister the Jewish laity ordinarily assembled to witness the offering of the sacrifice. It is perhaps almost needless to observe that there were, beneath its floor, underground chambers opening eastward into the Court of the Women. The last court was the Court of the Priests. Under this title was sometimes understood the whole space included between the Court of Israel and the Holy House; but the name was also

[1] Fergusson, Essay, p. 28. [2] Lightfoot, Prospect, cap. xxix.

applied in a more restricted sense to that space, eleven cubits wide, which intervened between the eastern part of the Court of Israel and the brasen altar. The altar itself covered a space of thirty-two cubits square, and was ten cubits in height; but in consequence of four successive ledges or narrowings of one cubit's breadth all round, the summit of the altar was a square of only twenty-four cubits. Such, at least, is the account given in the Talmud: Josephus describes it as fifteen cubits in height, and as covering a space of fifty cubits square. The ascent to the top of the altar was, in accordance with the command in the Book of Exodus[1], not by a flight of steps, but by a large inclined plane, sixteen cubits broad, which was placed on the south side of the altar, and commenced at a distance of thirty-two cubits from its base. The sacrifices were usually slain to the north of the altar, where were staples fixed in the pavement to which to fasten the beasts, and marble tables on which to cut up the bodies; and the blood of the sacrifices flowed off by a drain, commencing beneath the altar, into the valley of the Kidron. The temple steps occupied a space of twenty-two cubits immediately to the west of the altar. The whole breadth of the inner court from north to south, including the cloisters, was one hundred and thirty-five cubits.

The porch of the temple, which stood facing the east, was 100 cubits in width; and thus reached, so at least we are told by Josephus, 20 cubits further north and the same distance further south than the body of the house, which stood behind it. The porch was not enclosed by doors: the entrance to it was open, and was according to the Talmud 20 cubits in width and 40 in height. The great doors which opened from the porch into the temple measured, according to the same authority, 10

[1] Exod. xx. 26.

cubits in width and 20 in height; and both Josephus and the Rabbies make mention of the golden vine by which these doors were overhung. The whole of the front of the porch, and so much of its interior as could be seen from without was plated with gold so as to dazzle the spectator by the way in which it reflected the beams of the morning sun.

The interior of the temple was 20 cubits in width, and was divided by a double veil into the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies, which were in length 40 and 20 cubits respectively. Around these, but divided off from them by a thick wall, ran the side-chambers, arranged in three stories, and thirty-eight in number. The chambers opened into each other, and the entrance to them was by two doors in the porch, one on each side of the great doors opening into the Holy Place. These two small doors are mentioned in the Talmud, where the southern door of the two is most absurdly identified with the closed eastern gate in the vision-temple of Ezekiel[1]. We may perhaps suspect that, for some unknown reason, only the northern of the two doors leading into the chambers of Herod's temple may have been ordinarily opened; and the Rabbies, knowing that the other door was not used, may have supposed it was kept shut in accordance with the decree in Ezekiel's prophecy. The whole length of the temple from east to west was 100 cubits, which may be thus computed: the exterior wall of the porch 5 cubits, the depth of the porch 11 cubits, the wall of the temple itself 6 cubits, the Holy Place 40 cubits, the space between the veils 1 cubit, the Holy of Holies 20 cubits, the temple-wall 6 cubits, the chambers 6 cubits, and the wall of the chambers 5 cubits. The talmudic breadth of the temple from north to south, including the chambers and their

[1] Ezek. xliv. 1.

walls, will be easily seen to amount to 54 cubits; but the Rabbies further make mention of two galleries 3 cubits wide, bounded by walls 5 cubits thick, which ran along the temple on the northern and southern sides, that on the southern side serving as the place for the water-pipes. The interior height of the temple is stated in the Talmud at 40 cubits: if this be so, the cubical form adopted by Solomon for the Holy of Holies must have been destroyed. But over the temple was an upper chamber 40 cubits in height; and the whole exterior height of the building amounted to 100 cubits, which was also the height of the porch. The exterior height of the chambers that surrounded the temple was not more than 60 cubits.

The only particular that remains to be mentioned, is the space of 11 cubits behind the temple, which was probably a mere continuation of the cloister that formed the Court of Israel. Josephus states distinctly that there was no gate to the inner court on the western side. The Talmud speaks of two, and says they had no name[1]; but these must, as Mr Fergusson observes, be the two gates of the outer court leading into the suburb, which the Rabbies have misplaced. This circumstance will of itself shew how liable the Rabbies were to error, in describing from their own fragmentary and sometimes conflicting traditions a building which they had never been permitted to behold. As the inner court had no western gate, it may justly be a matter of doubt whether the terrace and the steps leading on to the terrace were continued round it on the western side.

It may be thought by some that we have been unnecessarily minute in thus detailing the exact measures of the different parts of the temple; but so much of the

[1] Middoth, II. 6. Fergusson, Essay, p. 24, note 2.

evidence with regard to the relation existing between the temples of Herod and Solomon must be derived from the specified measures of their respective parts, that we cannot, if we would desire accurately to investigate the more interesting questions connected with the building of the Jewish sanctuary, afford to disregard that which must form the principal basis of our reasoning. The particulars of the temple of Herod which have been preserved to us by the Jewish doctors in the Talmud, may when regarded in themselves appear often tedious, sometimes frivolous; but when diligently examined and employed with a view to the illustration of the records of Scripture, they present us with a fund of information for which we may justly feel grateful. It may still be asked whether the cubit of Josephus and the cubit of the Rabbies are the same, and if not, what are their respective lengths? There is every reason to believe that they are different; and that, as a rule, the Rabbies employ the long Jewish cubit of 1.83 feet, and Josephus the Greek cubit of 1.517 feet. The Rabbies, who wrote for their own nation, and in whose eyes everything Jewish was sanctified by its connexion with the past glory of their race, and still further by their recent misfortunes, and whose traditional measurements would have been originally taken in the usual Jewish measures, could have had no motive for employing any others than these. On the other hand Josephus, writing in Greek, and addressing himself throughout to the Gentile world, would hardly make use of a cubit which differed nearly four inches from either the Greek or Roman measure of that name. And in this way we may explain some of the apparent discrepancies between the measurements of the Talmud and Josephus. Thus the 10 and 32 cubits which the Rabbies assign for the height and side of the brasen altar become, if reduced into

Greek cubits, 12 and 39 cubits respectively, and do not differ very materially from the 15 and 50 cubits of the historian. The width of the entrance to the temple-porch, which the Rabbies make 20 cubits, will become rather more than 24 cubits of Greek measure, nearly answering to the 25 of Josephus; and in the height of the entrance, which the Rabbies make 40 and Josephus 70 cubits, the historian's exaggeration will not be quite so great as might at first sight appear. According to Josephus the porch outfronted the body of the house by 20 cubits each way: according to the Rabbies half the difference of the breadths of the porch and temple would be 15 Jewish or more than 18 Greek cubits, a sufficient approximation to the 20 of Josephus. On the other hand Josephus and the Rabbies agree in making the height and breadth of the porch each 100 cubits, the Holy Place 40 cubits in length by 20 in width, and the Holy of Holies 20 cubits square; and it is evident that in these instances both must have employed the same metrical standard[1]. But these were probably all well-known measures, which it would have been unsafe to disguise by reducing the Jewish cubits into Greek. The dimensions of the two divisions of the interior of the house were nominally the same as were specified in the Old Testament for the temple of Solomon, and were familiar to every Jew; they were of divine appointment, and bore without doubt a symbolical meaning which Josephus would shrink from sacrificing out of an excessive regard for strict accuracy. And it may be here observed that though these dimensions were nominally the same in the later as in the earlier temple, yet the temple of Zerubbabel and of Herod was in reality, owing to the change in the length of the cubit at the time of the

[1] Both moreover make the hel or terrace 10 cubits wide; but here their agreement is probably accidental.

captivity, larger than the temple of Solomon. It is expressly asserted that the temple of Solomon was built by the early or small cubits, "cubits after the first measure[1]:" whereas in the prophecy of Ezekiel, of which the temple of Zerubbabel and Herod constituted in some few respects a sort of protoplerosis or forefulfilment, the measures are given in the large cubits of a cubit and a handbreadth[2].

It is hardly worth while to attempt to investigate the architectural principles upon which the temple of Herod was constructed: we may content ourselves with observing that it was a Roman restoration of an essentially Jewish building, and that in such a work that unity of design without which perfect beauty can never subsist must have been entirely wanting. Although the ground-plan of the whole building was probably modified by Herod in several respects, yet it remained still fundamentally Solomonian; and majestic as Herod's royal cloister and perhaps also many other parts of the building may have been in themselves, yet the incongruity of the Herodian architecture with the original Solomonian design must have painfully marred the general effect of the whole temple. The external appearance of the holy house itself would hardly have been other than displeasing in our eyes, owing to the great height to which it reached above the chambers by which it was surrounded[3]. Without dwelling therefore at any greater length upon the temple of Herod, we may proceed at once to the temple of Solomon; addressing ourselves more especially to the enquiry, what was the plan and model on which the Jewish temple was originally built? And to which of the styles of architecture with which

[1] 2 Chron. iii. 3.

[2] Ezek. xl. 5; xliii. 13.

[3] See for example the representation of it in Hirt's Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten, Taf. XII. fig. 26.

we are acquainted was it most nearly related? For it is on the answer which we can give to this latter question that our conceptions of the original appearance of the temple at Jerusalem must in great measure depend.

The date of the building of the temple of Solomon is anterior to that of the erection of the oldest remains of classical architecture. It would therefore be somewhat foreign to our present purpose to enter into an examination of Prof. Wilkins' theory that the temple at Jerusalem was the type of the temples of Greece[1]: for whatever may be thought of the coincidences between the proportions and dimensions of the Jewish temple and the temples at Pæstum, or of the alleged analogy between the chambers that surrounded the former and the peristyle that surrounded the latter, the question of the principles upon which the Jewish temple was itself built is still in no wise answered. An attempt has indeed been recently made by Mr Hakewill to modify Prof. Wilkins' theory, and to shew that the temple of Solomon was coeval with the early Greek temples and was built upon the same principles[2]; but he is so singular in the date to which he refers the Parthenon, and his volume, notwithstanding its ingenuity, abounds so much more in speculation than in proof, that if we can by fair and legitimate reasoning establish the true view of the architecture of Solomon's temple, it will not be necessary to enter into any special refutation of the theory of those who wish to make it conform to the classical model.

That the temple of Solomon was built—partially at

[1] Wilkins, Prolusiones Architectonicæ, 1837. pp. 97 seqq.

[2] Hakewill. The Temple: an Essay on the Ark, the Tabernacle and the Temple of Jerusalem; shewing the correspondence of their forms with those of classic architecture. 1851.

least—upon a foreign model can hardly be doubted. The accounts given of it in the Old Testament force us to believe that it was constructed in a style of religious art that had already reached its full maturity. But where are we to seek among the Hebrews themselves for the development of a style of sacred architecture anterior to the building of the temple? The temple of Solomon, with all its magnificence, was in truth the first sacred edifice that the Israelites possessed. The oblong form of the holy house—the division of it into a Holy Place and a Holy of Holies—the court that surrounded it—had been previously displayed in the arrangements of the tabernacle; but architects who had no better model before them than a tabernacle of boards and curtains could surely never have designed such a building as Solomon's temple. It may perhaps be argued that the temple was of divine architecture—and that as the pattern of it and of all its details was divinely communicated to David, so God in this manner compensated by special revelation for the previous deficient development of religious art among His people. Doubtless He might have done so, had it so pleased Him; but such, as far at least as we can judge from the Bible, has never been the method of His dealings with mankind. The revelations of God have always presupposed the existence of a humanly developed medium through which they are to be made and apprehended. When God has vouchsafed to communicate with mankind, He has made use of those means of communication which they ordinarily employ among themselves; and the prophets and holy men who have been inspired to deliver God's messages, have delivered them in the language of those whom they were addressing. And by analogy we may venture to assert, that the revelation of the patterns of the different parts of the temple to king

David presumed a style of religious art in which those patterns were to be executed. Such a style of art must for the reasons already given have been adopted from abroad. Nor is there any difficulty in supposing that such was the case. To build a house of habitation for the Lord of Hosts Solomon avowedly employed all the resources of every kind that he could command. He did not restrict himself to the land of Israel for his materials, nor did he force himself to engage only the services of Israelitish workmen; he garnished the house with gold of Parvaim, and fetched his artificers from Tyre: can it be supposed that he would neglect to summon to his aid the highly developed architectural art of the Pharaohs of Egypt, the remains of which are still the admiration and the wonder of every eastern traveller? The relations subsisting between Solomon and the Egyptians are notorious: the palace which the monarch erected for his Egyptian bride was probably imitated from the palaces of the Pharaohs; and the colossal religious edifices of the earliest masters of architecture would furnish a ready model for the construction of the Jewish temple. It will be the object of the following pages to endeavour, by investigating the arrangements of the different parts of Solomon's temple, and by comparing them with the arrangements of the temples of Egypt, to shew that the temple at Jerusalem was built on the Egyptian model. That the Egyptian architecture must have undergone several important modifications in order that it might be so adapted as to harmonize with the spirit of the Jewish religion, there is no reason to doubt; but though the Jewish temple widely differed both in its general effect, and in the peculiarity of its symbolism, from the monuments of Egypt, it will be found that the details of the one were for the most part originally suggested by those of the other.

The different parts of a complete Egyptian temple may be enumerated as follows[1]:—

1st. The Sekos or sanctuary with its accompanying parts. The sekos was sometimes flanked by two side adyta or aisles, but was in other cases, as in that of the Ptolemaic temple at Dendera, surrounded by a set of chambers. Before it ran a small transverse corridor or prosekos; and a hall of columns stood in front of the whole. These formed the naos or body of the temple.

2nd. The Portico, which stood in front of the hall of columns, and "was frequently only a transverse corridor, of two columns in depth, at the inner end of the area; from which it was separated by intercolumnar screens. This part of the building projected beyond the body of the naos; and also exceeded it in height."

3rd. The Area, Vestibulum, or Propylæum; a large open court, of which there were sometimes more than one, standing in front of the naos.

4th. The large Pyramidal Towers which stood at the entrance of the area, or, if there were more than one area, at the entrance of each. Between them was the Pylon or Propylon, opening into the area.

5th. The Dromos or paved causeway, running between rows of sphinxes, and forming an approach to the temple.

6th. The Canopy at the end of the dromos.

We have now to see how far the several parts corresponding to those may be traced in the temple of Solomon.

[1] I here follow the account of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, "The Architecture of Ancient Egypt," 1850; p. 88. The description of Strabo is well known (XVII. p. 805); and a discussion of it may be found in Hirt's Geschichte der Baukunst, I. p. 27. The meaning of the several terms which Strabo employs, *ναός*, *πρόναος*, *πτερά*, is open to much dispute. By the *πρόναος* Sir G. Wilkinson understands the portico; but as the term seems to me to be used in a much wider sense, I have avoided adopting it.

I. The Jewish holy house, exclusive of the porch, formed the exact counterpart of the sekos of the Egyptian temples. In this single instance indeed the correspondence can hardly be accepted as furnishing any distinct argument in favour of the proposition which we have undertaken to prove; since the oblong form of the house was immediately derived from that of the tabernacle. The length and breadth of the temple of Solomon were respectively 60 cubits and 20 cubits[1]. These must be understood to be the interior measures; and they are nominally the same as those of the temple of Herod; although, as has been already observed, the latter temple was in reality larger than the temple of Solomon, owing to the subsequent increase in the length of the cubit. The proportions of the length and breadth of the temple exactly accorded with those of the tabernacle, which was 30 cubits long and 10 broad. Like the tabernacle, the temple was divided into two unequal parts: the larger part was 40 cubits in length; the smaller, or Holy of Holies, called in the Book of Kings the Oracle, was a square of 20 cubits. Within it stood the ark of the covenant, covered by the mercy-seat, and overshadowed by the wings of the cherubim; while the outer division of the temple contained the altar of incense, the candlestick, and the table of shewbread. The twenty cubits which measured the length and breadth of the innermost chamber measured also its height[2]; and the cubical form which had been adopted for the Holy of Holies of the tabernacle was thus preserved in the corresponding chamber of the temple of Solomon, though it was, as we have seen, disregarded in the later structure of the days of Herod. The height of the Holy Place was probably the same as that of the Holy of Holies; but its measure is not specified. The height

[1] 1 Kings vi. 2. 2 Chron. iii. 3. [2] 1 Kings vi. 20.

of the temple generally is however stated at thirty cubits[1]; and this leads us to assume the existence of two upper chambers extending over the sacred apartments beneath. Of such upper chambers there is indeed an apparent mention in the Book of Chronicles[2], where it is said that they, like the rest of the temple, were overlaid with gold; and we have already seen that chambers of this kind extended over both the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies of Herod's temple.

The side-chambers which surrounded the house on its northern, southern, and western sides, and which, it is almost needless to say, had no counterpart in the Mosaic tabernacle, furnish a close parallel to the chambers of some of the Egyptian temples. We may more especially refer to the great temple at Dendera, which although of late date, is generally considered to be one of the most perfect specimens of Egyptian architecture. The number of the chambers that surrounded Solomon's temple is not stated. They were, as in the case of the temple of Herod, arranged in three stories; each story being five cubits in height. The breadth of the chambers of the lower story was five cubits, of those of the middle story six, and of those of the uppermost story seven. This difference arose from the circumstance that the inner ends of the beams of the chambers were not inserted into the wall of the sanctuary, but rested on walls erected specially for the purpose, which narrowed one cubit at each successive story[3]. There

[1] 1 Kings vi. 2.

[2] 2 Chron. iii. 9. Some suppose an upper chamber only over the Holy of Holies, and thus make the interior height of the two parts of the temple different: others suppose that they also differed in height externally, and abandon the hypothesis of an upper chamber altogether. See the various theories discussed in Bähr, Der Salomonische Tempel, pp. 28 seqq: he cuts the knot and assumes a corruption of the Hebrew text.

[3] 1 Kings vi. 5, 6: cf. Ezek. xli. 6.

would be room above the roof of the chambers for windows to the sanctuary. The thickness of the walls of the temple and chambers was probably nearly the same as in the temple of Herod and the vision-temple of Ezekiel.

Among the materials which David is recorded to have collected for the building of the temple are enumerated precious stones of various kinds and colours[1]; but of the exact purpose to which they were applied we have no historical account. The analogy of the temple of Herod renders it probable that part of the court was laid with a mosaic or tesselated pavement; though from the details of the vision of Ezekiel we may conclude that this ornamentation was confined to the cloister by which the court was surrounded. But the more valuable stones were probably employed in building the foundations of the holy house itself; and it is from these that the imagery of Isaiah is borrowed in the words of evangelical comfort that he addresses to the spiritual daughter of Zion. "O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted, behold, I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and lay thy foundations with sapphires. And I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones[2]." In St John's vision of the new Jerusalem, in which no temple exists, the imagery of Isaiah is more distinctly applied to the walls of the city itself[3].

II. No mention has been made in the preceding paragraph of the portions of the temple which corresponded to the prosekos and the hall of columns of the Egyptian model. These parts were in the Jewish building considerably modified. The Jewish portico, or porch, standing as it did immediately in front of the

[1] 1 Chron. xxix. 2. [2] Isaiah liv. 11, 12.
[3] Rev. xxi. 18—21.

holy house, may be regarded as answering both to the prosekos and the portico of the temples of Egypt. Its extraordinary height, and its correspondence in this respect with the porticoes of Egypt, furnish a strong proof that it was copied from the Egyptian model. The height is stated in the Book of Chronicles at 120 cubits[1]; which must have been more than double if not treble the exterior height of the naos. The commentators, perplexed at this result, have assumed a corruption of the Hebrew text; but they have in this instance produced no valid argument in support of their assumption. We have already seen that the porch of Herod's temple was 100 cubits high; and one hundred of the later cubits do not fall far short of one hundred and twenty cubits of the older measure. The interior length of the portico of Solomon's temple was 20 cubits, the same as the interior breadth of the sanctuary. But it may have been prolonged by lateral chambers or porticoes, rising to the same height with it; and may thus, like the Egyptian porticoes, have externally outflanked the body of the naos. This is rendered probable by the analogy of the portico of the temple of Herod. The portico of the temple of Solomon was, like the rest of the house, overlaid within with gold.

When at the period of the return from the captivity the decree was issued by Cyrus for the rebuilding of the temple, it was specified that the height and the breadth of the new structure were each to be 60 cubits[2]. As there is no mention made of any length, these dimensions may be understood to refer to the portico; which must thus have been considerably less lofty than the portico of either the previous or the later temple. But more than this we can hardly determine respecting it; and these are the only particulars of the temple of

[1] 2 Chron. iii. 4. [2] Ezra vi. 3.

Zerubbabel which we possess. The elder portion of the returned exiles wept, as we know, when they beheld the foundations of the second temple laid. But the ground-plan of the temple of Zerubbabel can scarcely have been less extensive than that of the temple of Solomon; and it may possibly have been the knowledge of the inferior height to which the front of the new temple was to be raised, that gave occasion to the lamentation of the people.

To the Egyptian hall of columns we can find no exact parallel in the Jewish temple; but it was, according to Strabo, not universally employed, even in the temples of Egypt. Yet we must not too hastily conclude that it was entirely disregarded in the temple at Jerusalem. Traces of it may perhaps be found in those two remarkable pillars which Solomon placed before the entrance of the temple, and to which he gave the names Jachin and Boaz[1]. It cannot indeed be denied that these pillars bear rather a monumental than an architectural character. It is sufficiently clear that they did not form any part of the support of the porch of the temple, but that they stood free in front of it; and their symbolical meaning is expressed in their names, signifying respectively "He establisheth," and "In Him (God) is strength." They are correctly interpreted by Bähr as respectively denoting the faithfulness of Jehovah in fulfilling His promise to the Israelites by giving them full possession of the land of Canaan and establishing His fixed dwelling-place among them, and the assurance that He would remember His covenant with them for ever[2]. The pillars were each 18 cubits in height, besides the capitals, which increased their height by five cubits;

[1] 1 Kings vii. 15—22. 2 Chron. iii. 15—17. Jer. lii. 21—23. The present text of the Book of Chronicles is clearly in error with regard to the height of the pillars.

[2] Bähr, Der Salomonische Tempel, pp. 193 seqq.

and they were 12 cubits in circumference. It is by no means easy to understand the form of the capital from the minute description which is given of it; but the use of the term *belly* seems to indicate that the lower part protruded outwards, and it is not unlikely that the capitals generally resembled those of the Papyrus or third Egyptian order according to Sir G. Wilkinson's arrangement[1]. The lower part or belly, which was probably one cubit in height, would be ornamented with checkerwork and with seven vertical bands in the way indicated in the Egyptian columns, and would be bounded both above and below by a row of pomegranates; while the upper four cubits of the capital would be adorned with lilies, as is so frequently the case with the Egyptian capitals of other orders.

III. We next pass on to the area or temple-court. The accounts given us of this in the Bible are very brief. The Book of Kings simply tells us that Solomon "built the inner court with three rows of hewed stone and a row of cedar beams[2]." The Book of Chronicles says that "he made the court of the priests, and the great court, and doors for the court, and overlaid the doors of them with brass[3]." Bähr well remarks that this passage shews both courts to have been surrounded by the same wall; and indeed there is no reason to doubt that the court of the priests and what is here called the great court occupied the same relative positions as the court of the priests and the court of Israel in the temple of

[1] Wilkinson, Architecture of Ancient Egypt, p. 42, and Plate VII. The way in which the ornamentation of the capital was most probably disposed is correctly represented by Thenius, Das vorexilische Jerusalem und dessen Tempel, Plate III. fig. 2; but the form that he gives to the belly is unnatural and needless. I have drawn out a conjectural representation of one of the pillars in Plate I. fig. 1.

[2] 1 Kings vi. 36.

[3] 2 Chron. iv. 9.

Herod, the latter forming a sort of walk or cloister round the former. The whole therefore must be regarded as constituting only a single area; and it exactly corresponds to the areas before the Egyptian temples, which were surrounded by open cloisters in the same manner. The dimensions of the court of Solomon's temple are not stated; but it might be not unreasonably conjectured, that measuring from the utmost limit behind the back of the temple, the interior length and breadth of the whole enclosure were double those of the court of the tabernacle, and amounted to 200 and 100 cubits respectively. In the centre of the open part of the area to the east of the temple stood the brasen altar: it was considerably inferior in size to the subsequent altar of Herod: it occupied a space of 20 cubits square, and was 10 cubits in height[1]. There can be little doubt that it stood, like the altar of Herod, in an exact line between the northern and southern gates of the temple: and its position is thus, as we shall presently see, accurately determined.

The northern and southern gates of the court of which we are now speaking occupied the same positions as those mentioned by Nehemiah under the respective names of the prison-gate and the water-gate[2]; and until the days of Herod they formed the only public entrances to the court on the northern and southern sides. The prison-gate of Nehemiah corresponds to the gate of Sparkling, or gate of Song, of the later temple in Lightfoot's plan. It may also be the same with the gate by which, according to one of the Rabbies, king Jechoniah was led into captivity[3]; and this would explain the origin of the name by which the gate is designated in

[1] 2 Chron. iv. 1.

[2] Neh. iii. 26; viii. 1, 3, 16; xii. 37, 39.

[3] Middoth II. 6. The coincidence was first noticed by Mr Fergusson (Essay, p. 24); who is however incorrect in stating that the name prison-gate is found in the Talmud.

the Book of Nehemiah. The Jewish tradition relative to the captivity of Jechoniah is fortunately preserved to us, in the most incidental manner, in Josephus' account of the harangue which he himself delivered to the Jewish leaders at the siege of Jerusalem. It was said that when the Babylonians advanced against Jerusalem, Jechoniah went forth with his family and voluntarily surrendered himself into captivity, in order to save the city from being taken by storm, and the house of God delivered over to the flames. His memory was on this account held sacred by every Jew, and his name was handed down to posterity as that of the saviour of the temple[1]. The probable association of his name with one of the temple-gates affords a ready explanation of the way in which the remembrance of his patriotism, though unrecorded in Scripture, was preserved. The southern entrance to the temple-court retained in the later temple its appellation of the water-gate; and the name was, as we have already seen, probably suggested by the draw-well in the chamber that adjoined it on the east.

Accordingly when the two thanksgiving processions, described in the twelfth chapter of the book of Nehemiah, halted respectively in the water-gate and prison-gate, they both looked directly upon the brasen altar; and thus beheld the great sacrifices which were offered that day to celebrate the restoration of the walls of the Holy City. And in fact the place of the altar itself was never changed; and, notwithstanding the utter destruction of the temple at the time of the Babylonish captivity, the drain which conveyed the blood of the sacrifices into the Kidron would furnish the returning exiles with an easy means of recovering the site of the

[1] Jos. B. J. VI. 2. 1. See also a more circumstantial but less spirited account in Ant. X. 7. 1.

previous altar, even had other means been wanting; and thus from the time of Solomon to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the Jewish sacrifices continued to be offered on the very spot on which the angel of the Lord had appeared unto David in the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite.

With regard to the "three rows of hewed stone and a row of cedar beams," there may be some doubt whether they formed the separation between the court of the priests and the people's cloister, or whether they corresponded to the ornamented stone barrier of Herod's temple which ran round outside the terrace, and separated the sacred precincts from the court of the Gentiles. In height they would suit better with the latter; but they are regarded in the former light by Josephus. In describing the building of the temple he tells us that Solomon "surrounded the temple with what in our language is termed a γεισός, but what the Greeks call a θριγκός, three cubits in height, which served to prevent the people from entering within, and to shew that it was to the priests alone that this privilege was permitted[1]." And indeed such a barrier would well correspond to the low stone screens that connect the columns of an Egyptian temple, and separate the cloister from the interior of the court. The row of cedar beams must be assumed to have lain horizontally along the top of the three courses of hewn stones. In the temple of Zerubbabel the barrier between the court of Israel and the court of the priests seems to have been omitted; till Alexander Janneus, having on one occasion been assailed by the populace while he was performing sacrifice, avenged himself by killing six thousand of his subjects, and erected a wooden barrier to restrain the violence of the people for the future. This wooden barrier was

[1] Jos. Ant. VIII. 3. 9.

replaced in Herod's time by the low foot-cornice previously described[1].

We may without hesitation assume that the sides of the court were surrounded by chambers, as was the case in the subsequent temple of Herod. Sufficient proof of this may be found in a reference to the chambers which encircled the inner court of the vision-temple of Ezekiel; and mention is indeed made of these chambers in one of the narratives of the book of Jeremiah[2].

IV. The next feature of the Egyptian temples for which we have to seek a parallel in the temple of Solomon consists in the large Pyramidal Towers which stood at the nearer end of the area, and enclosed the great Pylon, or principal entrance, between them. The average height of these towers was about fifty feet; and the front which they presented, including the width of the gateway between them, was usually about two hundred and thirty feet in length. It may be calculated that the length of the exterior eastern front of the court of the temple of Solomon did not much exceed this. But as nothing whatever is recorded to us respecting its architecture, no direct evidence can be offered of its correspondence with the Egyptian model. There is however nothing which in any way militates against the hypothesis that it was in its character Egyptian.

With the northern portion of the buildings that formed this eastern front, a question of some little interest is connected. In the account of the repairing of the walls in the book of Nehemiah, we have the following notice: "After him repaired Malchiah the goldsmith's son unto the place of the Nethinims, and of the merchants, over against the gate Miphkad[3]." On comparing this with the twenty-sixth verse of the same

[1] Jos. Ant. XIII. 13. 5; and see Havercamp's note in loco.

[2] Jer. XXXV. 2—4.

[3] Neh. iii. 31.

chapter, it seems probable that the gate Miphkad was, like the water-gate, one of the gates of the inner temple-court; and if so, it must have stood in the northern part of its eastern front. It could not therefore have well been anything more than a mere bye-gate or postern, leading probably not directly into the court itself, but into the buildings that surrounded it. The meaning of the title of the gate has been much disputed. The word *miphkad* signifies a commandment or mandate; but it is also used by the prophet Ezekiel of the appointed place in which the body of the sin-offering was to be burnt[1]: and there seems therefore to be good reason for supposing that this is its meaning in the passage before us. The chamber in which the sin-offering was consumed must therefore have been situate at the north-eastern corner of the buildings that surrounded the inner temple-court. In the wilderness, it is true, the bullock was burnt outside the camp; and in the Epistle to the Hebrews this ordinance is treated as typical of our Saviour having suffered without the gate[2]. But as Ezekiel describes the place of burning the bullock as the "appointed place *of the house,* without the sanctuary," we may suppose that after the building of the temple it was considered sufficient to remove the body of the sin-offering from the interior of the court, and to burn it in a chamber specially appropriated to that purpose.

And it may not improbably have been for this purpose that the chamber of Herod's temple known as the House of Nizoz or Sparkling, and situate, according to Lightfoot, at the north-eastern corner of the court of Israel, was employed. Lightfoot was at a loss to find out the origin of the name. "The word," he quaintly tells us, speaking of the gate Nizoz which adjoined

[1] Ezek. xliii. 21. [2] Exod. xxix. 14. Heb. xiii. 11, 12.

the chamber, "properly betokeneth sparkling, and so it signifies the beams of the Sun, which as it were sparkle at his rising or going forth. But sometimes it is used by the Rabbins to signifie *Drops*, which are as it were the sparks of Water: and sometime as *Baal Aruch* observes, *Froth* or *Foam*. Now to what sense of all these to apply the name of this Gate, and to give the reason of its denomination in that sense, will prove more labour than profit, though the pains be put to the best improvement." And then he suggests either that "the flaming of the Altar shone upon it," or that "the South Sun did give a great dazling light upon the gilding of it[1]." These explanations are more ingenious than satisfactory; and it is more probable that the House of Nizoz was so called as being the place of the burning of the bullock, and that the adjoining gate received its name from the chamber. The situation would well correspond with that of the chamber Miphkad in the book of Nehemiah; and even the existence of the postern-gate leading into the chamber may be illustrated by the talmudic notice of a door leading from the Levites' ward over the gate Nizoz on to the terrace or hel[2].

V. and VI. *The Dromos and Canopy.* Thus far the general features of the ground-plan of the temple of Solomon have not essentially differed from those of the temple of Herod, however diverse the styles of architecture of the respective edifices may have been. But of the exterior parts of the two temples the ground-plans are widely dissimilar. Of the Court of the Women we have no notice before the days of Herod; it has no counterpart in the vision-temple of Ezekiel; and we may therefore conclude that it was not formed until Herod's time. It might indeed have been first added by Zerubbabel, but

[1] Lightfoot, Prospect, &c. cap. XXXII.

[2] Middoth, I. 5, and Lightfoot as before.

there is no evidence that such was the case; and we know altogether so little of the temple of Zerubbabel that the question is of no importance. Or even should it be maintained, in spite of the absence of all mention of it in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, that the Court of the Women formed part of the original Solomonian design, still this would hardly affect the evidence for the Egyptian character of the Jewish temple; for in fact the successive areas in the large Egyptian temples stood in front of each other in precisely the same way as the Court of the Women stood in front of the inner court in the temple of Herod. Yet although the solution of the question is thus in no wise essential to our argument, the analogy of the ground-plan of the vision-temple of Ezekiel compels us to decide against the existence of any Court of the Women before the captivity.

The Books of Kings and Chronicles make as little mention of an outer court as they do of a Court of the Women. The reason of their silence is sufficiently obvious: in the days of Solomon no outer court had been formed. Only on the eastern side, where the temple-mount had been enlarged by an artificial embankment, had any exterior portico been erected. The testimony of Josephus on this point is express and distinct. "The temple," he says, "was built upon a steep hill, on the summit of which there was at first scarcely room for the sanctuary and altar; the sides of the hill immediately around being uneven and precipitous. But after king Solomon, the founder of the temple, had walled up the eastern portion of the declivity, a single portico was forthwith erected on the embankment that had been formed: in all other directions the sanctuary remained for the present unprotected[1]." The single

[1] Jos. B. J. v. 5. 1.

portico here mentioned was that known to future generations as Solomon's Porch; and its position has been already determined. It is impossible to believe that all account of it would be omitted in the historical books of the Old Testament: and there can therefore be little ground for hesitation in identifying it with the porch of pillars described along with the House of the Forest of Lebanon and the royal palace in the seventh chapter of the First Book of Kings[1]. The breadth of the porch of pillars—thirty cubits—exactly agrees with the breadth of the temple porticoes mentioned by Josephus[2]: the length—fifty cubits—does not amount to more than one eighth part of the side of the subsequent temple enclosure. The necessary inference seems to be that this porch was not originally designed to form part of the boundary of an outer court to the temple, but was constructed in imitation of the Egyptian canopies, and intended like them to mark the commencement of the dromos or road by which the principal entrance of the temple was approached.

The Egyptian canopy is described by Sir G. Wilkinson as a square peripteral building, formed of circular columns, usually twelve in number, supporting an entablature: there was no chamber within it, and it was hypæthral, or roofless. It was generally placed on a raised basement, and had two entrances, one at each end; the remaining intercolumniations being filled up by stone screens to the height of about two-fifths of the columns[3]. From the plates in Sir G. Wilkinson's work, the size of the canopy seems to have nearly corresponded to that of the porch of pillars described in the Book of Kings.

[1] 1 Kings vii. 6.

[2] Jos. B. J. v. 5. 2.

[3] Wilkinson, Architecture of Ancient Egypt, pp. 80, 81, 90.

The only objection which may be made to the view which we have thus taken of Solomon's Porch, is that the distance at which it stood from the temple-court must have been considerably less than the usual length of the Egyptian dromos. But to this it may be readily answered, that as the approach to the Jewish temple was not, like the Egyptian dromos, ornamented with a row of sphinxes on either side, it was not necessary to make so much of it, or to extend it so far as in the Egyptian temples; and the Jewish monarch was moreover compelled to limit his designs by the measures of the hill on which the temple was placed. He did indeed, as we have already seen, increase the available space, by raising an embankment against the eastern side of the hill; the foundations of the embankment being laid, in the words of the Psalmist, as firm as the earth which God had established for ever[1]. Could it be admitted that Solomon's Porch stood as far east as the eastern wall of the present Haram esh-Sherîf, there would then be no occasion for complaining that the length of the Jewish dromos was unusually curtailed. But the square of four hundred cubits, which Josephus assigns as the limit of the extent of the original temple, forbids us to trace back the foundations of the eastern wall of the present Haram to an earlier period than that of Herod the Great; and there is no evidence to shew that the eastern part of the Haram was raised to its present height before the days of the emperor Justinian.

It may only be further necessary to repeat the observation that has already been made, that the road leading from Solomon's Porch to the temple was probably identical with the "east street" of the Second Book of Chronicles[2].

[1] Psalm lxxviii. 69. [2] 2 Chron. xxix. 4.

VII. There is still one striking coincidence to be adduced in support of the theory that the plan of the Jewish temple was in great measure borrowed from those of the temples of Egypt. It is this: assuming that in a former chapter the place of the sepulchres of the kings of Judah has been correctly determined, it will follow that they must have occupied, nearly if not exactly, the same relative position to the Jewish temple that the Tomb of Osymandyas did to the so-called Memnonium at Thebes. It is true that in the Egyptian example the tomb stood in a building reared above the ground, while the sepulchres of Mount Zion were excavated beneath the earth; yet this difference is rather accidental than essential; and without speculating on the possibility of there having been an entrance from the temple-court down into the sepulchres, there can be little doubt that if the facts of the case have been correctly stated, Solomon must have had the Egyptian model before his eyes. And it may be remarked that, although it was the practice of several or all of the subsequent monarchs of Judah each to prepare his own tomb before his death, we do not read of this having been done by David; and both our knowledge of the character of Solomon, and the expanded account given us by Josephus of the burial of David[1], would induce us to believe that it was the son who originally constructed the royal sepulchres, and who first conceived the idea of interring his father with a magnificence before unknown. That he should thus have presumed to bring the burial-place of his own race into connexion with the consecrated habitation of the Lord God of Israel may to some minds appear so startling an assumption that they will at once reject it as impossible. That there should be no direct mention of the circumstance in the

[1] Jos. Ant. VII. 15. 3.

historical books of the Old Testament may also appear to militate strongly against the correctness of the conclusion. There can be no doubt that under the Jewish ceremonial law the very presence of a dead body was regarded as a source of pollution; and the designed contiguity of the royal corpses to the sanctuary can hardly be considered as less than a direct profanation of a building hallowed, as the temple had been, by the special manifestation of the presence of the Almighty. Can it then be supposed, it may be asked, that such a proceeding would not have visibly called down the divine judgment upon its author? Can it be thought that God would have deigned to consecrate with the Cloud of His Presence a building thus polluted by the adjoining monuments of human vain-glory, or that He would have accepted the consecration prayer of the monarch who had so violated the sanctity of the very house that he had reared to the honour of his divine Protector's Name? It is in the Bible records themselves that the answer to these questions must be sought. Although not condemned in the historical books, the vicinity of the carcases of the kings in their high places to the place of God's throne is, as we have seen, most distinctly condemned by the prophet Ezekiel; and if the rebuke should appear to us to have come later than we might have expected, we are not the judges of God's dealings with mankind. The whole of the Old Testament history, the history of the reign of Solomon more especially, presents difficulties of precisely the same kind, which we may not be able to solve, but which do not justify us in disputing the facts out of which they arise. The character, life, and actions of Solomon, considered in their relation to the Jewish theocracy, are full from first to last of the most striking inconsistencies; and it ought not more to surprise us that the pollution

of the temple by the contiguity of the royal sepulchres should have remained unrebuked till the days of Ezekiel, than that no immediate censure should have been passed upon the king's unlimited assemblage of horses, his abundance of silver and gold, the number of his wives, or his matrimonial alliance with Pharaoh's daughter, all of which were undoubtedly forbidden by the direct injunctions of the Mosaic law.

The details of the Scriptural narrative are not sufficient to enable us to trace with any great degree of precision the process of the formation of the outer court of the temple. The enlargement of the level space on the summit of the hill, so as to form a *temenos* all round the temple precincts such as they had been defined by Solomon, was probably a gradual work; and when this temenos had been completed and rendered perfectly square, then, as we may suppose, the design was conceived of surrounding it on every side with walls or cloisters, and so converting it into an outer court. This hypothesis is favoured by the language of Josephus, who, having described the temple as it was left by Solomon, says: "In the progress of time, as successive generations continued to raise additional embankments of earth against the mount, the extent of level space on its summit was rendered greater; and having, moreover, broken through the wall on the north of the sanctuary, they took in the whole of the ground that was subsequently occupied by the temple enclosure. After this space had been walled in from the bottom on every side, and a work surpassing expectation thus accomplished,—a work, however, on which the labours of many generations were employed, and all the sacred treasures, the produce of the offerings sent to the house of God at Jerusalem from all parts of the world, consumed,—they proceeded to construct the upper

enclosure (on the summit of the wall), and thus to form the Lower temple (or outer court)[1]."

It is clear, then, that the construction of the outer court, by which one remarkable point of resemblance between the Jewish and Egyptian temples was concealed, or rather removed, is in no way to be ascribed to the original founder of the sanctuary, or to be regarded as forming any part of the Solomonian design. We may, perhaps, with the greatest probability of correctness, refer it to the period of the reign of Jotham, who is recorded in the Books of Kings and Chronicles to have built "the high gate of the house of the Lord;" and such appears to be the view also of Josephus, who in his paraphrase of the sacred narrative relates that Jotham distinguished himself by erecting the porticoes and the propylæa of the temple[2]. Solomon's porch of pillars became henceforth a mere portion of the boundary of the court; and the gate which Jotham is specially mentioned as building was probably the east gate opening into this porch. And it was most likely in connexion with the completion of the temple-courts that Jotham employed himself in fortifying the buildings of Ophel which adjoined the south-eastern corner of the temple.

[1] Jos. B. J. v. 5. 1. Robinson observes that the word τριχῇ, *threefold*, used here in connexion with walls built up from the bottom of the hill, cannot well refer to anything else than the *three walls* built up on the *three sides* of the hill, which are said to have been left open by Solomon. Bib. Res. i. p. 416. The meaning of the concluding words of the passage I have quoted, τούς τε ἄνω περιβόλους, καὶ τὸ κάτω ἱερὸν ἀμφεδείμαντο, is very obscure.

[2] 2 Kings xv. 35. 2 Chron. xxvii. 3. Jos. Ant. ix. 11. 2. In 2 Chron. xx. 5, Jehoshaphat is said to have stood "in the congregation of Judah and Jerusalem, in the house of the Lord, *before the new court*;" but an outer court can hardly be here intended. The phrase "in the house of the Lord, before the outer court," would be destitute of meaning; and the expression probably refers to some part of the inner court which had been newly repaired.

The gates leading into the outer court thus formed may be considered to have occupied in general the same positions as in the temple of Herod. Of the east gate we have just spoken: it is mentioned by this name in the Book of Nehemiah[1], and there can be little doubt that it opened in a direct line with the eastern gate of the inner court, with the altar, and with the doors of the sanctuary. The gate on the northern side, although there is no allusion to it before the captivity, is mentioned under the title of the sheep-gate by Nehemiah, and is thus identified with the gate of the same name mentioned in the New Testament[2]. The existence of a gate on the southern side of the outer court before the captivity, or in the temple of Zerubbabel, cannot be actually proved from the Bible; but, on the other hand, an argument in favour of it may be drawn from the remains which are still preserved to us beneath the Haram esh-Sherîf. The capital of the monolithic column which stands in the centre of the corridor now leading beneath the Mosk el-Aksa, although referred by Mr Fergusson to the Herodian period, appears to be so thoroughly Egyptian in its character, that there is no reason why we may not assume it to have been executed by Jewish masons before the Babylonish captivity, at a time when the Egyptian style of architecture was the only one employed[3]. The gateway to which it belongs was the double gateway of Huldah of the later temple, and may possibly have borne the same name in earlier times. A very remarkable peculiarity in the structure of the passages leading inward from this gateway has here been noticed by Mr Fergusson. "From the vestibule the steps rise only in the left-hand passage, the right-hand one being closed by a

[1] Neh. iii. 29. [2] Neh. iii. 1, 32; xii. 39. John v. 2.
[3] See Plate I. fig. 2.

wall, the foundations of which are of the same bevelled masonry as the other walls; while on the other hand the steps that lead to the upper court are in the right-hand passage, and the left is closed by a wall." This leads to the conjecture that the left-hand entrance was the entrance for the people, rising immediately into the outer court, while the right-hand entrance was the entrance for the priests, conducting for some distance underground, and then rising directly into the inner court by the side of the inclined plane of the altar; the present length of the passage being found, when some necessary allowances are made, to accord exactly with the calculated distance of the altar from the southern wall of the temple[1]. We may be permitted to hazard the additional conjecture, that with this corridor, leading thus directly to the base of the altar, was connected the Gate of the Foundation, or Gate of the Base, where a third part of the priests and Levites were ordered by Jehoiada to station themselves, preparatory to the proclamation of Joash as king; since the word by which the gate is designated is specially used to denote the base of the altar in several passages in the Pentateuch[2]. And of the three gateways, the positions of which we have thus determined, on the eastern, northern, and southern sides of the temple, it may be remarked that each has its counterpart in the vision-temple of Ezekiel.

Lastly, on the western side, we have the "king's entry[3]," or king's gate, forming, apparently, the termination of Solomon's ascent into the house of the Lord, and situate, therefore, at the southern extremity of the western boundary of the area; and also the gate Shal-

[1] Fergusson, Essay, p. 27. See Plate II. fig. 1.

[2] 2 Chron. xxiii. 5. See Exod. xxix. 12; Lev. iv. 7, 18, 25, 30, 34.

[3] 2 Kings xvi. 18.

lecheth, or gate of "casting up," mentioned in the First Book of Chronicles, as adjoining the "causeway of the going up," or Millo, from which in all probability its name was derived[1]. These two gates correspond to the southernmost and northernmost of the four western gates of the temple of Herod. It is not improbable that, as in Herod's temple, there may have also been intermediate gates leading into the Parbar or suburb. But on this latter point we have no distinct information; and we may therefore pass by without further comment the speculations of Dr Lightfoot, who, by a waste of ingenuity to be regretted in so learned a man, draws, from the mention of the "*asuppim* (or treasuries) of the gates," the somewhat illogical inference that there were two gates on the western quarter of the temple known as the "Gates of Asuppim[2]."

Much difficulty has been occasioned by a verse in the Second Book of Kings, relating to the proceedings of Jotham's profligate son and successor, king Ahaz. After an account of his having removed the brasen oxen from under Solomon's molten sea, it is said: "And the covert for the sabbath that they had built in the house, and the king's entry without, turned he from the house of the Lord for the king of Assyria[3]." The correct translation of this verse is a matter of considerable uncertainty. Instead of *the covert for the sabbath* the LXX gives us τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς καθέδρας, *the foundation of the seat.* The former word in this expression evidently arose from a false reading of the

[1] 1 Chron. xxvi. 16.

[2] Lightfoot, Prospect, cap. v. sec. 3.

[3] 2 Kings xvi. 18. ואת־מיסך השבת אשר בנו בבית ואת־מבוא המלך החיצונה הסב בית יהוה מפני מלך אשור For מיסך (Keri מוסך) the LXX read מוסד. The syntax of the objective case after the Hiphil הסב can only be compared with that in 2 Kings xxiii. 34, "turned his name to Jehoiakim;" and xxiv. 17, "changed his name to Zedekiah." See Gesenius in voce סבב.

Hebrew text; but in respect of the latter word the authority of the LXX is not without weight; for the Hebrew words for *sabbath* and *seat* or *sitting* are spelt with the same letters and differ only in the vowels, and the vowels supplied by the Greek translators are as likely to be right as those sanctioned at a much later period by the Masorets. It may be doubted therefore, whether for *the covert for the sabbath* we ought not to read *the covert for sitting* and understand by it some covered place within the temple precincts furnished with seats for the people. The mention of the "king's entry without," which probably adjoined it, renders it likely that this covered place was a portion of the southern portico of the outer court. Again in the latter part of the verse, the grammatical sense of the words appears to be, not that Ahaz removed the covert and the king's entry *from* the house of the Lord (as represented in our Authorized Version), nor that he transferred them *to* the house of the Lord, but that he *changed* them *into* a house of the Lord: and as we are informed in the Book of Chronicles that Ahaz shut up the doors of the Lord's house[1], it may deserve consideration whether it be not implied in the verse before us that the king fitted up a part of the southern portico and the gateway opening into it from the west, and ordered them to be used in place of the proper sanctuary which he had closed.

The irreverence of Ahaz was perhaps surpassed by the impiety of his grandson Manasseh, who, in his zeal for the practice of idolatry, is recorded to have built altars for all the host of heaven in both the temple-courts[2]. Manasseh's abominations were removed by king Josiah, during whose reign the sanctuary underwent a thorough repair; and it is probable that the

[1] 2 Chron. xxviii. 24. [2] 2 Kings xxi. 5. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 5.

eastern entrance to the inner court was rebuilt about the same time. Such, at least, appears to have been the position of the "new gate" twice mentioned in the writings of the prophet Jeremiah[1].

As the exterior wall of the outer court formed a part of the fortifications of the city of Jerusalem, we are carried round nearly the entire circuit of it in the account of the rebuilding of the walls by Nehemiah. From that account we learn that the buildings on the western side of the court consisted principally of the houses of the high-priest and others; the armoury, or as it was called by Solomon, the House of the Forest of Lebanon, occupying a position in the north-western part of the area, and probably standing in connexion with the Towers of Meah and Hananeel on the northern side. The priests' houses extended also along the eastern side of the court; and the eastern portion of the northern side was filled with the bazaars of the goldsmiths and merchants. These few notices will assist us in forming our conceptions of the appearance of the outer court in the days of Nehemiah; and the arrangements were in all probability not widely different from what they had been in the later days of the monarchy.

ON THE TEMPLE OF EZEKIEL.

The bearing of the preceding investigations on the last nine chapters of the book of the prophet Ezekiel is at once so obvious and so important, that some remarks elucidatory of the details contained in those chapters may appear almost a necessary appendage to the present volume. For as the leading design with which the foregoing pages have been written has been

[1] Jer. xxvi. 10; xxxvi. 10.

the illustration of Scripture, and as one of the main claims of the city and temple of Jerusalem on our attention is that they furnished the language in which the Hebrew prophets described the future glories of God's spiritual kingdom, we should leave the execution of our task incomplete, were we to refrain from indicating some of the principal points in the interpretation of the prophetical writings which follow as necessary corollaries from the historical results hitherto obtained. We should be acting like persons who having just mastered the grammar of a fresh language, suddenly stop short at the threshold of the literature to which the knowledge of the language that they have just acquired furnishes the key. At the same time it must be remembered that our aim in the following pages is not, strictly speaking, a theological one. Our object is rather to establish the philological basis on which all theological discussion of the prophecy with which we shall have to deal must rest. To compare the details of the temple which presented itself to the imagination of Ezekiel with the details of the temples of Solomon or Herod, and to bring to light the points of resemblance or difference between them, cannot with any propriety be called a theological investigation of the subject, although it forms the necessary prelude to it. But before we enter into the full details of the temple which the prophet so minutely describes, it may be well to enquire generally how far we can determine in what light the whole of the prophet's vision ought to be regarded: for although it be not absolutely necessary that this point should be definitely settled in the first instance, yet there can be little doubt that to start with a wholly incorrect view of the general purport of the vision may materially impede us in following out the separate details.

It has been already remarked that the date of Ezekiel's vision was subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple of Solomon by the Chaldeans, while the sanctuary was lying in ruins and desolation. The prophet, a captive by the river of Chebar, is brought in divine vision by the hand of the Lord into the land of Israel, and set upon a very high mountain, by which he beholds as it were the frame of a city on the south. An angel forthwith appears with a line of flax in his hand, and a measuring reed; and Ezekiel is bidden attentively mark all that is shewn him, and declare it unto the house of Israel. Accordingly we have first of all a description of all the different parts of the temple; the return of the glory of the God of Israel to His temple is then announced; ordinances are delivered for the priests who are to minister in the temple, and also for the prince; the waters that issue from under the threshold of the house are next described; then the land of inheritance, and its division among the twelve tribes; lastly the city, the name of which is henceforth to be Jehovah-shammah, The Lord is there.

It is maintained by some that the vision beheld by Ezekiel was, at least as far as the temple is concerned, the vision of the first temple such as it had existed before its destruction, and that the design of the vision was to enable the prophet to record the measures of the original temple for the benefit of the exiles when they should return to their own land, in order that they might then rebuild the house of God and its courts as nearly as possible after the former pattern. It can only be from an inadequate appreciation of the scope and purport of Hebrew prophecy that the concluding chapters of Ezekiel, forming as they do the climax of one of the sublimest books of Scripture, have been thus reduced to a level with the Middoth of the Talmud, and

regarded as little more than a mere series of architectural memoranda. The view is sufficiently refuted by the circumstance that the plan of the vision-temple will be found to differ in many important particulars from the plan of the historical temple before the captivity. Moreover the utterly unhistorical character of the last chapter of the vision, in which the distribution of the land and the dimensions of the city are delineated, must be obvious to every reader; and it may be doubted whether we can be right in thus disconnecting the successive portions of the vision, and regarding the former in a wholly different light from the latter.

There are others again who while admitting that the state of things described by Ezekiel differed from what had been before the captivity, have assumed that it was the prophet's design to furnish the pattern of what should be after the return. This view is however hardly more tenable than the former: the temples of Zerubbabel and Herod can be proved to have differed as much from the vision-temple of Ezekiel, as the latter did from the temple of Solomon;—while the difficulties with regard to the last chapter of the vision remain nearly the same as before. And to suppose either that the patterns given by Ezekiel, although intended by him for the returning exiles, remained unexecuted, or, as some recent German scholars have done, that the description of Ezekiel is a mere fancy ideal, destitute of symbolical meaning, and not designed to be ever realized, seems scarcely compatible with a serious belief in the inspiration of Scripture, or in the truth of the prophet's assertion that he was brought to Jerusalem by the hand of the Lord, in the visions of God. This is not the place to enter upon a full refutation of such a view: it is connected with the whole rationalistic

system of the interpretation of the Bible, and must stand or fall with it.

It thus becomes impossible to allow that the scope of the vision of Ezekiel can be limited to the mere rebuilding of the city and temple of Jerusalem and the recolonization of the land by the returning exiles after the Babylonish captivity; and the whole must be regarded in the light of a far-reaching prophecy destined to be fulfilled only in the times of the new dispensation. We have now to deal with the remaining question, of what kind was this fulfilment to be; literal and material, or figurative and spiritual? Are we yet to look for an actual rebuilding of the temple on its antient site—on the mount which, through the labours of Herod and Justinian has now been enlarged to the extent required by the dimensions of the prophetical temple, and on the foundation walls erected by those sovereigns, of which the southern wall measures, as we have seen, exactly 500 Ezekielian cubits? Or have we not reason rather to conclude that under the figure of the restored temple the prophet was really describing the future Christian church, and that it is the announcement of the setting up of God's kingdom upon earth, and not of the mere construction of any fresh material temple, which forms the real culminating point of all Ezekiel's writings? The full discussion of this question would require an examination not only of the whole of the previous portions of the book of Ezekiel, but also to a certain extent of the whole of the prophecies of the Old Testament. This would obviously be here out of place; but it will be nevertheless advisable to point out the principal arguments which the details of the vision themselves furnish against the literal, and in favour of the spiritual interpretation.

In the first place it is clear that the whole of the last

nine chapters of the book of Ezekiel form one connected vision, between the several parts of which we have no right to separate, so as to give a different kind of interpretation to some parts from that which we give to others. If we choose to understand the description of the temple in a literal sense, we must understand the rest literally; or if to look for a literal fulfilment of the whole should be found to present insuperable difficulties, we must then be content to adopt the spiritual interpretation. Now the difficulties involved in the literal interpretation are at least of no ordinary magnitude. The prophet opens his description by relating how in the visions of God he was brought into the land of Israel, and set upon a very high mountain, by which was as the frame of a city on the south. It is sufficiently obvious that the mountain intended is Mount Zion. To this however the phrase "a very high mountain," if understood literally, is far from applicable; nor would the difficulty be much lessened by referring the expression to any of the other hills near Jerusalem. The language of Ezekiel at once recalls the prophecies of Isaiah and Micah, by which it was in all probability suggested: "It shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills." The literal interpreters of Ezekiel must then at the very outset be content to look for a literal fulfilment of this prophecy of Isaiah and Micah also, and must at once have recourse to the hypothesis of a complete physical change to be wrought on the surface of the Holy Land. In the vision of Ezekiel the city lies to the south of Mount Zion; but the historical position of the city was rather to the west of the temple-hill. All correspondence however on this point between the prophet's vision and historical reality is completely

removed by the subsequent chapters of the prophecy, in which the future temple and city are represented as separated from each other by a distance of five miles. The temple is described as standing in the centre of a holy portion of land, of oblong form, twenty-five thousand cubits[1] long by ten thousand broad; in our measures, about eight miles and a half by three and a half. A second portion of land, of the same dimensions, is allotted to the Levites; and a third portion, of the same length with the two former, but of only half their breadth, is assigned as the possession of the city. The city itself, which with its suburbs forms a square of five thousand cubits in each side, occupies the central position in this last portion of ground. The three portions of ground just described all adjoin each other, their lengths running from west to east, and the holy portion being on the north, the portion of the Levites between the other two, and the portion of the city on the south; and they thus form a large square of twenty-five thousand cubits or about eight miles and a half in each side. The portions of the land of Israel immediately to the east and west of this square are allotted to the prince; and thus, with the square, form a strip of land eight miles and a half broad stretching across the centre of the land of Israel from the Mediterranean to the eastern border. The rest of the land is divided into twelve strips parallel to the former, seven of them lying to

[1] Ezek. xlv. 1. The Hebrew does not specify whether cubits or reeds are to be understood. Our Authorized Version gives reeds. In this case the difficulties of a literal interpretation will be increased sixfold. But cubits are probably intended: 50 cubits are expressly specified for the suburbs of the temple (v. 2): the size of the city (5000 cubits square) will then nearly accord with historical reality: and although we may reject the literal interpretation, we are not justified in assuming any wide and unnecessary disagreement between the historical and prophetical measures without distinct evidence that such a disagreement was intended.

the north, and five to the south of it: these are the portions of the twelve tribes. The whole is arranged with the most perfect rectangular regularity, without the slightest regard to the physical conformation of the country, its hills, its valleys, or its watercourses. Every indication seems to be thus afforded that what Ezekiel beheld in vision was never intended as anything more than a type or figurative description of a certain future spiritual state of the world. It may be alleged, and it is the utmost which can be alleged by the advocates of the literal interpretation, that the literal historical fulfilment of Ezekiel's vision would not actually involve any geometrical impossibility. But to this it is easily replied, that geometrical impossibilities would have been inconsistent with the notion of a vision at all; for we cannot present even to the mind's eye that which is geometrically impossible. Yet even here we may remark the utter want of any geometrical connexion between the position of the twelve gates of the prophetical city and the allotted portions of the several tribes whose names the gates bear. Physically impossible the literal fulfilment of the vision most certainly is, without a complete miraculous alteration of the face of the country; and the account of the holy waters issuing from beneath the temple into the Dead Sea may be quoted as a further proof of the purely visionary character of the whole description. The historical groundwork of these waters is clearly the brook Kidron and the streams of Gihon and Siloah which ultimately joined it; but it seems almost unnecessary to dwell on the utter dissimilarity between the Kidron, even in the eastern part of its course, and the stream described by Ezekiel, or on the unnatural and imaginary character of a river, whose waters increase in depth as they roll on, not by reason of the accession of any tributary

streams, but simply because their source is beneath the sanctuary.

It has been incidentally noticed above, that in one respect a certain approximation has already been made to the literal realization of Ezekiel's description of the temple. The level space on the summit of Mount Zion, which in Ezekiel's own days would not have sufficed for the erection of the temple that he described, has now by the labours of Herod and Justinian been enlarged to the required extent, and the southern wall of the Haram esh-Sherîf which occupies the entire level space on the top of the hill measures exactly five hundred Ezekielian cubits. The coincidence is certainly a remarkable one; and it is possible that some of the expectants of the literal fulfilment of Ezekiel's vision may hereafter adduce it as a corroborative proof of the soundness of their views. Yet it is difficult to see how the labours of Herod and Justinian, however great in themselves, could be said to contribute at all to the realization of a prophecy, the fulfilment of which would require not only the miraculous raising of the whole hill of Zion to a very great height, but also the utter physical change of the surface of the entire land of Israel. They may indeed be regarded to a certain extent as a sort of protoplerosis of part of Ezekiel's description; but a material forefulfilment does not necessarily imply that the true fulfilment will be also material. On the contrary, it accords with the very notion of type and antitype, that the one should be material, the other not.

We have already seen that the building of the Great Wall of Jerusalem by Herod Agrippa constituted a protoplerosis of the prophecy of Jeremiah that the measuring line should yet go forth over against the city upon the hill of Gareb and should compass about to Goath. It may be assumed that all those who look for a literal realization of the vision of Ezekiel expect also,

à fortiori, a literal fulfilment of the prophecy of Jeremiah. Yet it may be easily shewn that the literal realization of the one is absolutely inconsistent with the literal fulfilment of the other. If Jerusalem were to be restored to its dignity as the metropolis of the Jewish nation, and if the hills of Gareb and Goath to the north of the temple were to be once more included within the city-walls, then it is clear that the city could not occupy the position assigned to it in the vision of Ezekiel, five miles to the south of the temple. The material realization of the vision before us would be equally inconsistent with the literal fulfilment of the prophecy of Zechariah, that Jerusalem should be "lifted up and inhabited *in her place;*" a prophecy of the reference of which to the last times there can be no doubt. In order to the literal realization of Ezekiel's vision we must suppose the metropolis removed from its present site to the neighbourhood of Bethlehem or the Frank Mountain.

These considerations seem to determine sufficiently the character of the fulfilment of Ezekiel's predictions which we must expect; and it appears almost as unnecessary as it is foreign to the purpose of this volume to enter into any theological discussion of the subject. The vision of the prophet is a symbolical one. Even the literalist interpreters of Ezekiel would probably allow a symbolical meaning to what they nevertheless believe to be destined to receive a literal accomplishment. Nor ought they to be reproached with inconsistency for so doing. The very temple of Solomon, although material, was at the same time essentially symbolical.

It is not difficult to account for the peculiarly systematic and artificial character which pervades the whole of the details of the vision before us. The vision is indeed a vision of God; but as the mental peculiarities of each of God's prophets are to be traced in the

language and form of the messages in which the word of the Lord was delivered by them, so are the habits of thought of the prophet Ezekiel to be traced in the form of the vision which presented itself to his mind and which he has recorded. Ezekiel was a priest: Ezekiel the priest is the title by which he describes himself in the opening of his book. As a priest he had, before he was carried into captivity, been principally occupied with the services of the temple. It is the temple which forms the central point of the whole of his concluding vision. Six chapters out of the nine are devoted to the details of the temple or the temple ordinances. The perfect squareness and regularity of the several parts of the vision-temple were suggested by those of the historical temple, of which they are an exaggeration. As the mind's eye of the prophet, already trained and accustomed to the squareness of the temple and its parts, wandered thence in vision over the whole of the land, the divisions of the land and the form of the city would readily present themselves with the same rectangular regularity before him. The suggestive groundwork of the vision is preserved however in the description of the borders of the land, which are nearly if not entirely identical with the natural and historical borders of the land of Israel; and a certain sacrifice of symmetry to geographical reality is made when in accordance with the geographical position of Jerusalem seven tribes are placed to the north of the sacred allotment and only five tribes to the south. Yet even here it is only a middle path between symmetry and accordance with reality that the prophet steers; for a glance at the map will shew that considerably more than seven twelfths of the holy land lie to the north of Jerusalem.

There is yet a further question, and it is one of considerable importance in the discussion of the Ezekielian

temple, whether the symbolism of the whole is to be understood as extending to every minute particular in the description. It is hard to see on what principles this question can be answered otherwise than in the affirmative. Care and labour are doubtless required in the investigation of the symbolical meaning of the separate details, perhaps to a still greater extent than in some other departments of the interpretation of Scripture; nor ought we to be surprised if the labours of a single interpreter, or of a single age, or even of a succession of ages, should prove to be only attended with partial success. Doubtless also the pathway to the true interpretation of symbolical prophecy lies through a wide field of error in which an idle fancy may only too easily luxuriate. Expositors who will not take the requisite amount of pains to arrive at the truth may multiply arbitrary interpretations without number: yet surely it is not a whit the less arbitrary to presume to set a limit to the fulness of Scripture, and, while allowing a symbolical meaning to some of the details of a prophetical vision, to deny it to others. The material temple of Solomon was itself full of symbolism; and the symbolical character of the separate details is attested by the circumstance that the patterns of all the several parts were communicated to David by divine prescription. If then each portion of the old material structure embodied some spiritual truth, some point in the spiritual relation between Jehovah and His people, how can a similar meaning be denied to the several recorded details of the prophetical vision? Nor will it avail to say that some of these details are so minutely rehearsed only to shew the accordance of the vision-temple in these respects with the temple of history. It is almost certain that the gateways of the Ezekielian temple, which are described with such minuteness, do not

exactly agree in their details with either the gateways of the temple of Solomon or with those of the temple of Herod; and therefore to deny the symbolical meaning of the several particulars is to deny them any meaning at all. The indolent criticism which could dare to rest in such a conclusion is, it is to be hoped, now dying away. We trust that in the present age men are beginning more and more to feel that no portion of the word of God can be devoid of meaning. The recent learned work of Bähr on the Temple of Solomon, in which the symbolical import of the various details of that structure is diligently and accurately investigated, may be welcomed as one of the products of a more profound school of biblical criticism; and we trust that it may not be long ere some valuable additions may be made to our present prophetical literature by the investigation of the symbolism of the Temple of Ezekiel in the same cautious and sober spirit. It is hoped that the examination of the plan and distinguishing features of Ezekiel's temple in the following pages may be of some service as the necessary prelude and basis of such an investigation. Beyond this, it is not any part of the design of the present volume to proceed; except so far as a mere occasional glance at a few of the more obvious results of the symbolical interpretation may serve to relieve the dryness of a mere ichnography.

We advance then forthwith to the examination of the separate details of the Ezekielian temple. Our first task must be to settle the exterior dimensions of the whole building; a point which has caused considerable perplexity and diversity of opinion. The English Authorized Version, in conformity with the present Hebrew text of the Bible, assigns five hundred reeds of six cubits each as the measure of each side[1]; but as

[1] Ezek. xlii. 16—20.

the temple would thus occupy the enormous extent of more than a mile square, it has been maintained by many that each side must consist not of five hundred reeds but of five hundred cubits; and this view is supported by the authority of the LXX. Those who regard the dimensions given by Ezekiel as the historical dimensions of the temple of Solomon are of course constrained to reject the larger measures as inconsistent with historical reality; and accordingly Lamy accepts the version of the Septuagint as correct; while Villalpandus, an earlier expositor of the same school, adopts the singular expedient of regarding the five hundred reeds as the measure not of each side but of the whole perimeter of the temple. This last view may be safely put aside without further discussion, as being in plain opposition to the prophet's words. On the other hand some of the expositors who look upon the vision-temple of Ezekiel as a figurative representation of the Christian church, have, with more eagerness than judgment, seized upon the excessive measures of the Hebrew text as an argument for the spiritual interpretation of the vision. Thus Lightfoot says: "Whosoever will measure the square of Ezekiel, he will find . . . the compass incomparably greater than Mount Moriah divers times over. And by this very thing is shewed that that is spiritually and mystically to be understood . . . And thereby the scope of the Holy Spirit in that ichnography is clearly held out to be, to signifie the great enlarging of the spiritual Jerusalem and temple, the church under the gospel, the spiritual beauty and glory of it." It seems to have escaped Lightfoot and his followers, that as the prophet describes only what he had himself beheld in internal vision, the geometrical details of that vision must necessarily be consistent with each other; and that however

unhistorical the whole description may be, yet if it be also ungeometrical, the possibility of any vision having been vouchsafed to Ezekiel is destroyed. Now by a reference to the plan, it appears to admit of a ready proof from the detailed measurements of the different gates and courts of the temple, that the exterior length of each side was not five hundred reeds, but five hundred cubits. Let a line be drawn across both the courts of the temple, from north to south, passing through the northern and southern gates. Then measuring along this line, we have, beginning from the north, first the length of the northern gateway, fifty cubits; then the distance across the outer court, a hundred cubits; next the length of the northern gateway of the inner court, fifty cubits; then the breadth of the inner court, a hundred cubits; then the length of its southern gateway, fifty cubits; the distance across the southern part of the outer court, a hundred cubits; and the length of the southern gateway of the outer court, fifty cubits; in all, five hundred[1]. To alter the "reeds" of the Hebrew text into "cubits" would seem therefore to be a matter of absolute necessity, even had we not

[1] Ezek. xl. 21, 23, 35, 47, 29, 27, 25. Prof. Fairbairn in his exposition of Ezekiel, p. 423, endeavours to make out that the temple must be more than 500 cubits square. But he evidently misconceives the whole plan of it: he supposes three distinct courts instead of two. The thickness of the walls, for which he complains that no allowance is made, is obviously included in the length of the gateways. I take this opportunity of stating how much I am indebted, in the discussion of Ezekiel's temple, to Prof. Fairbairn's admirable work, which for its sound method of dealing with Scripture prophecy may fairly compare with any expository work that has yet appeared, and which could only have been written by one who had previously qualified himself for the task by a systematic study of the "Typology of Scripture." And the error into which so able an expositor has fallen respecting the size of the temple of Ezekiel will serve to illustrate the importance of a study of the plan of the Jewish temple, and of the topography of Jerusalem generally, to a right understanding of the prophetical writings.

the authority of the Septuagint to support us; and however cautious we ought to be in admitting emendations of the received text for which we cannot produce any warrant in existing manuscripts, still to contend that the present Hebrew text of the Bible is absolutely free from error, or to refuse to entertain any correction of it, however cogent the reasons which recommend it, is in reality "to extend to copies made by the hands of man that reverence which is due to the authentic Word of God alone:" and further, rashly to regard the inconsistencies and difficulties which thus arise out of our own mistaken stiffness as marks and proofs given us by the Holy Spirit that certain portions of Scripture are to be interpreted in this or that particular way, is still more presumptuous and dangerous. In the present instance, however plainly unhistorical some parts of Ezekiel's vision may be, still as the whole had a historical suggestive groundwork, all reasonable principles of criticism would teach us not to admit any particular disagreement between the historical temple and the vision-temple as a fit basis of argument, till such disagreement should be clearly proved to exist; and this consideration should of itself warn us against hastily allowing the proposition, and proceeding to reason upon it as a fact, that the Ezekielian temple was at least thirty-six times as large as even the subsequent enclosure of Herod.

The outer court of the temple of Ezekiel is approached by gates on the eastern, northern, and southern sides; and although the exact position of the gates is not fixed, they may be best considered as standing in the centres of their respective sides. The gateways are all precisely alike; and are described with great minuteness. This description will be best understood by means of the following paraphrase, in which reference

is made by the letters to the drawing at the end of the volume[1].

"And he came to the gate looking toward the east, and ascended the steps of it; and measured the threshold of the gate (*a*) one reed deep, as also the lintel over the threshold, one reed. Each of the guard-chambers (*c*) was one reed in length, and one reed in breadth; the intervening spaces between the guard-chambers (*d*) measured five cubits; and the threshold of the gate next to the porch of the gateway within (*e*) one reed. He then measured the portico of the gateway (*f*) eight cubits across, and its posts (*gg*) two cubits; the portico of the gateway standing within the court. The guard-chambers belonging to the gateway were six in number, three on each side; they were all of the same dimensions; and the posts (or intervening spaces between them, as also the sides of the gates) measured the same on both sides. And he measured the breadth of the entry of the gate (*a, e*) ten cubits; and the width of the gateway (or passage, between the outer and inner gates, *h*) thirteen cubits. And there was a barrier of one cubit (in height? or if in thickness, it must still be reckoned as included in the measure of the chambers) in front of the guard-chambers on either side; and the guard-chambers themselves (including the barriers) measured six cubits on either side. He also measured the whole width of the gateway from the further wall of one guard-chamber to the further wall of the guard-chamber opposite, twenty-five cubits; the doors of the guard-chambers facing each other, so that the measures could be taken right through. And he made the posts sixty cubits high. And the gateway reached as

[1] Plate III. fig. 2. This figure represents one of the gateways of the inner court; but with the front portico removed it will serve equally well for one of the gateways of the outer court.

far as the post of the court that ran all round (*gg*); and from the front of the gate of entrance (*a*) to the front of the portico of the inner gate (*gg*) was fifty cubits. And there were open spaces, blocked up at the bottom, to the guard-chambers and their posts (*i.e.* opening from one guard-chamber into another) within the gateway, all round; and likewise to the porticoes, the open spaces running round the whole of the interior of the court; and the posts were adorned with palm-trees[1]."

The guard-chambers which are here so minutely described were intended as stations for the Levites who had charge of the gates[2]; and may be considered as denoting the great sanctity of the whole of the temple precincts, from which everything unclean was to be strictly repelled. Even their number is probably not without meaning. Were the gateways shortened by taking away two of the guard-chambers on each side, they might be compared with the gateways of the Egyptian pylons: like the latter, they open into a narrow portico or cloister running round the interior of the court; and the great thickness of the posts or walls as compared with the intervening chambers or recesses is also in accordance with the massive character of the Egyptian architecture. From the preceding investigations into the plan of the temple of Solomon it will appear that the outer enclosure of Ezekiel's temple has but little resemblance to the outer enclosure of the historical temple, and that the general features of it are

[1] Ezek. xl. 6—16. Verse 8 must certainly be rejected: it is omitted in the LXX, Vulgate, Syriac, Arabic, and 11 MSS; it is contradicted by verse 9; and those who will refer to the Hebrew text will see that it is merely compounded out of the first words of v. 9 and the last words of v. 7. On v. 14 Hävernick well observes that the word עשׂי proves the sixty cubits to refer to the height: a height of sixty cubits could not well be *measured*, therefore the angel *made* it, *determined* it, *reckoned* it as such.

[2] Cf. cap. xliv. 11, 14: also 2 Kings xxii. 4. 1 Chro. ix. 26; xxvi. 12.

derived not from those of the outer court but from those of the inner court of history. The narrow cloister into which the gateways open evidently corresponds to the Court of Israel by which the inner court was surrounded. Even the measures nearly agree: the width of Ezekiel's cloister is (including the posts) ten cubits all round; the width of the Court of Israel in the Herodian temple was eleven cubits on the east side and eight cubits on the north and south sides. In fact the character of the outer and inner courts in the temple of Ezekiel is precisely the same: the former is the exact counterpart of the latter in everything but its size; and they are both pronounced to be equally holy[1]. The symbolism of this can hardly be mistaken. Under the new dispensation the Gentiles are admitted to the same privileges with the children of Israel; made fellowheirs, and united with them in the same body. The same result is expressed in a somewhat different form by St Paul when he says that Christ levelled the distinction between Jew and Gentile by breaking down "the middle wall of partition," the low stone fence, by which, as we have seen, the "second temple" or inner court was in the days of Josephus surrounded and protected from the ingress of the Gentiles[2].

But even Ezekiel does not lose sight of this stone fence; and the allusion which he makes to it may be taken as a proof that something of the kind existed, even before the captivity, to mark the limit of the consecrated ground. The very first object to which the attention of the prophet is directed at the commencement of the vision is a wall surrounding the whole of the temple buildings, one reed thick, and one reed in height; and the purpose of this wall is afterwards expressly declared to be to make a separation between the

[1] Ezek. xliii. 12. [2] Eph. ii. 14.

sanctuary and the profane place[1]. Although this wall is twice the height of the fence described by Josephus, yet it can hardly be doubted that it was intended as the counterpart of a corresponding fence in the temple of Solomon[2]; and it appears therefore that while in the historical temple the boundary-fence enclosed only the buildings of the inner court, it is on the other hand in the prophetical temple represented as surrounding the buildings of the outer court also. Under the dispensation of the new covenant the pale of the church includes the Gentiles as well as the Jews. And it may here be noticed how the constructive character of Ezekiel's mind is exemplified in his exhibiting the positive side of the doctrine of which only the negative side is brought out by St Paul. The apostle represents Christ as making both Jews and Gentiles one by breaking down the barrier of the Jewish temple that separated between them. In the Christian temple of Ezekiel the barrier is again built up, but in a new position, so as to include both Jews and Gentiles within its limits.

If we now pass through one of the gateways into the outer court of the Ezekielian temple, we have first of all to notice the portico or cloister already described, bounded by a row of pillars, the spaces between which are represented as blocked up to a certain height by low walls or screens. Although this portico encircles the whole of the court, its width is included in the fifty cubits that measure the length of the gateway; so that the hundred cubits between the gateways of the outer and inner court measure the width of that part of the

[1] Ezek. xl. 5; xlii. 20.

[2] The wall of Ezekiel and the stone fence of Josephus were identified by Lamy; but he failed to see the difference of position of the two, and consequently missed the whole of the prophet's meaning.

outer court which is open to the air[1]. The tesselated pavement described in the following verses would appear to have been confined to the cloister and to the interior of the gateways: "And he brought me into the outer court, and behold there were rooms, and a pavement made for the court all round; thirty rooms opening on to the pavement. And the pavement ran also to the shoulders of the gates, along the length of the gateways: this was the lower pavement." The first of these two verses needs no explanation. Respecting the latter it may be observed that as the breadth of the gateways or passages (thirteen cubits) was greater than the breadths of the openings or gates at either end of them, which were only ten cubits, there would necessarily be two pieces of wall, or shoulders[2], on either side of every gate, each one cubit and a half in length; and it was those sideparts of the gateways or passages which ran from shoulder to shoulder immediately in front of the guard-chambers, which were tesselated like the cloister of the court within. The thirty rooms opening into the cloister may be best distributed between the eastern, northern, and southern sides. They must not however be considered as stretching into the corners of the court, which, as we afterwards learn, were occupied by four small courts, appropriated for the purpose of boiling the sacrifices of the people[3]. These small courts were each forty cubits long by thirty broad; from which dimensions it may be easily calculated (taking into account the thickness of the exterior wall of the court) that they could

[1] Ezek. xl. 19, 23, 27. At the end of v.19, translate with the LXX: "This with reference to the east gate. He then brought me to the north." And in v. 23, translate: "And there was a gate of the inner court facing the north gate in the same way as there had been a gate facing the east gate."

[2] That this is the meaning of כתף see cap. xli. 2. The sides of these "shoulders" are in fact what are called the "posts."

[3] Ezek. xlvi. 21—24.

be entered from the cloister while they were sufficiently small not to encroach upon it.

If we now pass on to the gateways of the inner court, we find that they are described as resembling those of the outer court in nearly every respect: their guard-chambers, their posts, their porticoes are all of the same measure as those before delineated; and not only the analogy of the porticoes of the outer court, but also our knowledge of the historical arrangements in the temples of Solomon and Herod will justify us in assuming that the porticoes were situate to the inside of the gates, and faced inwards to the inner court. But besides these porticoes facing inwards, with which our previous investigations have rendered us familiar, mention is also made of some other smaller porticoes, facing outwards, corresponding in length to the entire breadth of the gateways, and only five cubits in breadth, and forming apparently mere separate façades in front of each of the gateways[1]. The breadths of these smaller porticoes can hardly be considered as included in the fifty cubits that measure the lengths of the gateways. It may be also noticed that the ascents to the gateways of the inner court consist of eight steps instead of seven. Within and without the north gate stand the tables on which the sacrifices are slain.

The arrangement of the rooms opening into the inner court is probably as follows. We first of all have a notice of two rooms—or as they are called in the Septuagint, *exedræ*, the very same term as that employed by Josephus—situate, the one to the side of the northern gate of the inner court, looking south-

[1] Ezek. xl. 30, 31. The only difficulty here is that these porticoes are said to run all round, סביב סביב. As the porticoes are only 25 cubits long, this expression can hardly be taken in what would otherwise be its obvious sense.

wards, and the other to the side of the southern gate, looking northwards[1]. These rooms may be considered as lying to the *west* side of the northern and southern gates respectively. They are appropriated, the one to the priests who had charge of the house, the other to those who had charge of the altar. Further on we have mention of certain holy chambers for the priests on either side of the eastern gate, from which there were entrances westward into two priestly kitchens, in which the trespass-offerings and sin-offerings were to be boiled, and the meat-offerings to be baked[2]. These kitchens must therefore have occupied the spaces immediately to the *east* of the northern and southern gates. The use of the whole of the buildings surrounding the three sides of the inner court is thus determined. And it may be remarked that the kitchen in which those sin-offerings which belonged to the priest were boiled must thus have been contiguous to the *miphkad* or appointed place where the rest of the sin-offerings were burnt, which as we have already seen, was situate in the north-eastern part of the inner court. That such should have been the case is not unlikely; and the coincidence furnishes a confirmation of the accuracy of the results at which we have arrived.

The interior dimensions of the inner court are one hundred cubits each way[3]. In the centre of the court stands the altar of burnt-offering. Its numerical dimensions in cubits are the same as those of the altar of Solomon; for though the hearth or summit of the altar

[1] Ezek. xl. 44—46. I follow the LXX reading, which is adopted by most of the German critics. The correction of שתים for שרים may be regarded as almost certain: the other corrections are at least highly probable.

[2] Ezek. xlvi. 19, 20. The prophet is only conducted to the chambers on the north side; but the dual form בירכתם shews that the arrangements on the south side corresponded. So Lamy.

[3] Ezek. xl. 47.

is but twelve cubits square, it may be easily calculated from the description that the base must measure twenty cubits in each side; and the length and breadth of the altar of Solomon are each stated at twenty cubits[1]. In actual size the altar of Ezekiel would somewhat exceed that of Solomon, owing to the increase in the length of the cubit; but it is far smaller than the subsequent altar of Herod. The ascent to it is from the east, and not, as in the Herodian temple, on the southern side[2].

It may be asked, how the existence of an altar in the Christian temple of Ezekiel can be reconciled with the doctrine of the all-sufficiency of the one oblation of Christ upon the cross, in consequence of which all sacrifice was thenceforward to cease for ever. That in his description of the future altar Ezekiel intended a personal reference to the Messiah can hardly be critically maintained by those who desire really to bring out the prophet's meaning, instead of merely to put a meaning of their own upon his words. But the difficulty in great measure vanishes when we remember that the outward forms under which the doctrines of Ezekiel are exhibited are necessarily those of the old covenant. The altar was under the old covenant the great medium of intercourse with God. It is partly for this reason that such special mention is made, as we have seen, in the Book of Genesis of the erection of altars by the patriarchs, whenever they journeyed to a new place; by Noah, on coming out of the ark; by Abraham, on reaching the plain of Moreh, and again on removing to Bethel, and again on coming to dwell at Hebron; by Isaac, on coming to Beersheba; by Jacob, at Shalem, and

[1] Ezek. xliii. 13—17. 2 Chron. iv. 1.

[2] Ezek. xliii. 17. "His stairs:" for the consistency of this with the command in Exod. xx. 26, see Kitto's Cyclopædia, Art. Altars.

again at Bethel. The altar thus became the appropriate symbol of communion with God. Nor is the use of it as a symbol confined to the prophet Ezekiel: the prophet Isaiah also employs it to portray the future calling of Egypt to the church: "In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord[1]." And indeed it is only by attending to the symbolism of Isaiah and Ezekiel, that the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews can be rightly understood: "We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle[2]." The altar here is not to be taken in any special sense, so as to denote, for example, the cross of Christ, or the table from which the eucharist is administered; but is rather to be regarded as symbolizing in a general way the means of fellowship with God that we have through the Redeemer.

The dimensions of the holy house itself, in the vision of Ezekiel, are nearly the same as those of the subsequent sanctuary of Herod. Its entire length from east to west is, like that of the Herodian temple, one hundred cubits The porch is approached by ten steps. It is not expressly described as outflanking the body of the house; its width is stated at twenty cubits: but as this appears to be the interior measure, we may perhaps, as in the temple of Solomon, conceive of the porch as forming only part of a continuous line of buildings stretching from north to south along the whole of the western side of the inner court. The width of the entrance into the porch is fourteen cubits; the thickness of its exterior walls or posts five cubits; and two pillars, the counterparts of Solomon's Jachin and Boaz, stand immediately in front of it. The depth of the porch is stated in the present Hebrew text of the Bible, and in our Authorized

[1] Isaiah xix. 19. [2] Heb. xiii. 10.

Version, at eleven cubits, the same as in the temple of Herod; but it seems necessary, in order to make the whole length of the temple amount to one hundred cubits, to adopt the reading of the Septuagint and raise the depth of the porch to twelve cubits. The width of the temple doorway, the thickness of the temple walls, and the dimensions of the Holy Place and of the Holy of Holies are respectively the same as in the temple of Herod; but the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies instead of being separated by a veil occupying a space of one cubit are divided by a partition wall two cubits thick, in the middle of which is a doorway of the width of six cubits. In this respect the arrangements of the temple of Ezekiel probably coincide with those of the temple of Solomon, in which the oracle was entered by doors of olive-wood[1].

The construction of the chambers that surround the temple of Ezekiel is precisely similar to that employed in the temple of Solomon; but they are somewhat smaller, those on the ground floor measuring only four cubits instead of five. They are altogether thirty, or perhaps thirty-three, in number, arranged in three separate stories. The exterior wall of the chambers is five cubits thick; but immediately outside this wall, on the northern and southern sides, run the fountains, or water-galleries, corresponding to the water-gallery mentioned in the Middoth, and shewing that nearly the same arrangement must have existed in the temple of Solomon. These water-galleries, along with their walls, if such existed, occupy in the temple of Ezekiel a width of five cubits on each side. The aggregate width of the sanctuary, chambers, and water-galleries is thus sixty

[1] Ezek. xl. 48—xli. 5. In xl. 48, 49, I follow the LXX. In xli. 3, seven cubits is the measure of the two pieces of wall on each side of the doorway. For Solomon's doors, see 1 Kings vi. 31.

cubits; and two void spaces on the northern and southern sides respectively, each twenty cubits in width, and from which two entrances lead into the chambers just described, complete the whole distance of one hundred cubits that intervenes between the rooms of the priests and Levites on the north and the rooms of the priests and Levites on the south[1].

The void space of twenty cubits width extends however not only along the northern and southern sides, but also round the back of the temple; and this westernmost part of it appears to be specially designated by the name *gizrah* or "separate place." It may be easily calculated that from the western extremity of the gizrah to the western boundary of the whole temple precincts, there remains a distance of eighty cubits. The whole of this space to the west of the gizrah is represented as surrounded by a partition-wall. As this wall is five cubits thick, the enclosed space measures only seventy cubits from east to west, and ninety cubits from north to south[2]. The purpose of this enclosure is not specified; but it may be conjectured that a corres-

[1] Ezek. xli. 5—11. In v. 7, instead of "winding about" render "alteration." V. 8 is very obscure: it probably refers to the height of the chambers. The latter part of v. 9 should be joined with v. 10: בית is either an Aramaism (so Hitzig) or a false reading (so Maurer) for בין: render, "and the space that was left between the chambers of the house and the rooms (of the court) was 20 cubits in width round about the house on every side." The assertion with regard to the water-galleries rests on a conjectural emendation of v. 11. The present Hebrew text has מקום "place;" but the word usually means a *spot* rather than a *space*. The LXX has τοῦ φωτός, evidently a translation of the Hebrew מאור "light." This shews that the true reading is מקור "fountain." The next word is in the genitive: "the fountain of the void space," *i.e.* the fountain or water-gallery that ran along the side of the void space.

[2] Ezek. xli. 12—14. The word בנין or בניה, translated "building" in our Authorized Version is used in cap. xl. 5, of the exterior fence or wall of the temple precincts. It is probably connected not with בנה "to build," but with בין "between."

ponding space in the temple of Solomon was enclosed and left uncovered with buildings, in consequence of the royal sepulchres running immediately beneath it. This conjecture is confirmed by a reference to the account of the repairing of the walls in the Book of Nehemiah. From those verses of the account which refer to the western boundary of the temple enclosure[1] we find that between the house of the high-priest Eliashib and the other priests' houses further south, there was a piece of the wall which was repaired by "the priests, the men of the plain." Had the space adjoining this piece been occupied by houses or chambers, the wall would have been repaired by the persons to whom the houses belonged.

There are yet two remaining buildings of which Ezekiel gives us a detailed account; but the description which we have of these is undoubtedly the most obscure portion of the whole of the prophet's vision. Even the Jews themselves profess their ignorance of the exact situation of these buildings; justly alleging that there was nothing in the temple of Herod that corresponded to them. Yet the attempt to penetrate through the obscurity of the description does not appear altogether hopeless. The buildings each measure a hundred cubits from east to west, and fifty cubits from north to south; and they stand the one immediately to the north, the other to the south, of the gizrah and enclosed space last described; so that their western walls run along the western boundary of the temple precincts. Half the northern face of the northern building is concealed by the exterior buildings and cloister of the outer court; and in the same way four-fifths of the southern face of the ground floor are hidden by the low wall that surrounds the enclosed space; so that it is only along the remaining fifty cubits of the northern side, looking out

[1] Neh. iii. 20—24.

on to the pavement of the outer court, and along the remaining twenty cubits of the southern side, looking out on to the gizrah, that a full view of the building is obtained. It is three stories in height; and on either the northern or the southern side, more probably the latter, the stories recede one behind the other, the chambers on each floor being narrower than those on the floor below. The entire length of the several chambers is the same as that of the building, one hundred cubits; and on the southern, or temple side, the whole length of the upper chambers is exposed to view; while on the northern side, half the length is still hidden by the buildings of the outer court. The southern building is of a corresponding character. Within these buildings the priests are to eat the sacrifices, and to deposit the holy garments in which they minister[1]. The only part of the Solomonian structure with which it seems in any way possible to compare them, is the House of the Forest of Lebanon, which was of exactly the same dimensions, a hundred cubits in length by fifty in breadth. Owing to the decrements of the upper stories of the buildings, the walls of the upper chambers must necessarily require rows of pillars below on which to rest; and an additional point of resemblance is thus established between these buildings and the House of the

[1] Ezek. xlii. 1—14. The word אתיק, which we translate "gallery," signifies a "decrement," where a story or portico is drawn in; an offset, ledge, or terrace. See Gesenius in voce. The "walk of ten cubits breadth inward" of v. 4 seems to be the terrace-walk which in consequence of the peculiar structure of the building ran along in front of the chambers of the upper stories on the roof of the story below. I am disposed to think that the "one cubit" of the same verse refers to either the thickness or the height of the wall or railing by which those walks were protected on the outside; and indeed if the words דרך אמה אחת cannot be explained so as to give any intelligible meaning, I would suggest the emendation וחרך אמה אחת "and a lattice-work of one cubit" (along the edge of the walk).

Forest, the roof of which was supported on three rows of cedar pillars, and which may even like these buildings have had stories of chambers above. And it is possible that the House of the Forest of Lebanon, which as we have seen, stood in the north-western part of the temple enclosure, may have been used not only as an armoury, but also as a depository for the priestly garments. The comparison is indeed precarious; but should it be thought that it is borne out by the evidence, the meaning of this part of Ezekiel's vision may be taken to be, that the priests shall no more have to walk across the outer court to lay aside their holy garments, as must have been the case in the historical temple, but that the sacred vestry shall be so moved southward, that henceforth they shall be able to unrobe themselves before they come forth into the sight of the people.

We here draw to a close our analysis of the description of Ezekiel's vision; and with it we terminate our investigations into the history and topography of the city of Jerusalem. While the character and the nature of our enquiries have rendered it necessary in the course of this volume to adopt an argumentative rather than a graphic style, an endeavour has been made throughout to convey to the mind of the reader a faithful picture of the appearance of Jerusalem at the different periods of her history. In spite of the unchanging character of Eastern life, and of the perpetuation among all Eastern nations of the same manners and customs through successive generations from the earliest times, in spite of the calm stillness which seems to hang over the East and ever to mark it as the land of stationary repose rather than of progress, there is hardly any city whose fortunes and whose features have so greatly varied

in different ages as those of Jerusalem. We have beheld her in her early simplicity as the fortress of the priestly Melchizedek, the already venerated metropolis of the tribes of the land of Canaan; we have beheld her enlarged into the royal capital of David; we have beheld her eastern hill crowned through the pious and unsparing zeal of Solomon and his successors with the most sumptuous building of antient times, the Jewish temple, the dwelling-place of the Lord God of Israel; we have beheld her with all her former beauty departed, rising an unadorned and thinly inhabited village in the time of those who were returning from exile after the long Babylonish captivity; we have beheld her decorated anew with the classical architecture of Herod; we have wandered round her walls to the majestically rising hill whence the Saviour of the world beheld the city and wept over it, to the hill-side garden shaded by the olive-trees beneath which He endured that bitter agony, and to the rock of shame where, exposed not only to the taunts of every passer by, but to the view of every gazer from the city-walls, He suffered for us a malefactor's death; we have glanced at the horrors of that dreadful siege which He had predicted; we have beheld God's former dwelling-place transformed into a Roman military colony, and we have incidentally examined the city in her present aspect beneath the Moslem sway, and surveyed the guarded area on which the disciple of the false prophet looks with a veneration second only to that which he pays to the similar enclosure at Mekka. This is the past and the present of the history of Jerusalem: is there a future for her yet in store?

It is no doubt with feelings of very deep interest that the walls of the Holy City are gazed upon by such modern Christian pilgrims as with the Old Testament in their hand sit down to read in the prophecies of that

volume what they believe to be a prediction of a state of future prosperity and glory to the material assemblage of habitations that they see before them. And even without founding our expectations on any belief in the literal fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies, we may innocently cherish the hope that not only in Jerusalem, but in all the cities and countries of the East, better days are yet to dawn, that the pale crescent is yet to wane before the reawakened radiancy of the Cross, that the native purity of the gospel is yet to be restored to many of those among whom its simplicity has been corrupted, and that in its original simplicity it is yet to be embraced by millions of those who now reject it. But when, on the strength of a particular interpretation of the Old Testament prophecies, an especial and peculiar glory is claimed for the future city of Jerusalem as the renovated metropolis of the Jewish nation, we must beware of confining the application of the language of the Old Testament within such narrow limits. We must not confound the substance of the Old Testament predictions with the form in which they were delivered, the eternal truth with the mere temporary clothing, the reality of the announcement with the imagery under which alone it could be rendered intelligible to the worshippers of the older dispensation. *They* were regularly invited to shew forth the praises of the Lord on Mount Zion; but our Saviour announced the coming of the time when God's true worshippers should no longer be enjoined to worship Him at Jerusalem, but to worship Him in spirit and in truth. With the teaching of the New Testament before us, we cannot look for such a fulfilment of the Hebrew prophecies as would involve the necessary revival of those Jewish ordinances which were never designed but to foreshadow forth the great redemption of the world which has been now accom-

plished. On the principles of interpretation according to which the language of the Old Testament is understood to imply the future restoration of the glory of the material Jerusalem, it must be also understood to imply the future re-erection of the Jewish altar; but we cannot consistently look for the literal coming up of the flocks of Kedar and the rams of Nebaioth on any future altar, when we know that by one offering Christ hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.

It was necessary that the blessings of the new dispensation should be described to the Jews in language which they could understand; and the only language which is intelligible to any section of mankind is that which has been developed among them by the circumstances of which they themselves have already had experience. It was therefore, humanly speaking, as inevitable that the future triumphs of the Christian church should be depicted to the Jews in imagery borrowed from the local glories of the antient Zion, as that the state of future blessedness should still be described to us in metaphors borrowed from the things of earth. Of many indeed of the Old Testament prophecies the Jews were, before the final destruction of their temple, permitted to behold a sort of material protoplerosis or forefulfilment; but the imperfect and in some instances the so to speak spurious manner in which on these occasions the predictions were realized, was no doubt partly designed to shew that the true fulfilment of the prophecies was to be of a different and a higher order. In a certain sense the sons of them that had afflicted Zion came bending unto her; and the Edomite sovereign, himself the descendant of the race that at the time of the capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans had cried "Rase it, rase it, even to the foundation thereof," paid an outward if not a hearty tribute to the majesty of God's

abode, when he devoted himself to the work of beautifying with the most costly magnificence the place of His sanctuary. But the work was but short-lived; and Jerusalem did not become from that time forward either an eternal excellency, or even a joy of many generations. In a certain sense too, the sons of strangers built up the city-walls, and the grandson of the Edomite restorer of the temple carried forth the measuring line upon the hill Gareb and compassed about to Goath. But the new fortifications did not stand for twenty years; and it certainly could not have been this wall of which the prophet said, "it shall not be plucked up, nor thrown down any more for ever." Nor indeed was the work executed till after the doom had gone forth upon Jerusalem, and the Saviour whom she had rejected had declared that her house was left unto her desolate.

Our Saviour's prophecy of the destruction of the Jewish temple has been literally and terribly fulfilled. Of the whole of the walls and buildings of the inner court we may verily say that not one stone has been left upon another; and even the raised platform on which the inner court stood has been levelled with the rest of the area. The whole of the porticoes of the outer court have in like manner disappeared; and even of the antient external walls not a stone remains reaching up and visible above the floor of the area on which the prophecy was delivered. The denunciations of the Old Testament upon the Jewish people have been equally verified by the result; and the fearful scenes of distress which had been prophetically delineated by Moses, and which were first enacted, as we learn from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, in the siege of the city by the Chaldeans, were repeated, and probably in a yet more terrible degree, when Jerusalem

was beleaguered by the Romans under Titus. The prophet Micah had foretold that Zion should be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem should become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest. That the spirit of this prophecy has received its full accomplishment none will doubt; and we may venture to assert that even its letter has been verified. The Jews, as we have seen, themselves record the passing of the plough over Mount Zion after the capture of the city; to the utter demolition of its buildings we have the testimony of Josephus; and through the erection of Hadrian's shrine of Jupiter, the site of the temple became, like the high places of the groves of earlier times, the scene of an idolatrous worship.

There is not in the New Testament the slightest hint of any kind that the former glory of the material Jerusalem shall ever return to her again. Our Saviour prophesied distinctly of her destruction, but held out no hope of any future restoration. The apostle Paul, who looked forward so earnestly to the time when the veil should be removed from Israel's heart, does not connect with the conversion of the Jews any future raising up of their antient capital. He distinguishes not between the Jerusalem of his own day, and some future city to be built up upon the same site, but between the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem; between the "Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children," and the free Jerusalem which is above, the mother of us all. The great book of Christian prophecy, the Revelation of St John, does not lose sight of the Jewish city; but so far as she is the type of anything here on earth, she is distinguished not as the antient dwelling-place of the God of Israel, but as "the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified."

It is only when St John passes on to the description of what shall be after the end of the world, that the city of Jerusalem again appears as the emblem of that on which God's favour rests. The state of future blessedness is there described in imagery which is principally suggested by that of the vision of Ezekiel; though some important modifications are introduced into the details, so that the outward forms in which the vision is exhibited belong as much to the Christian as to the elder covenant. The holy Jerusalem descends out of heaven from God; the city lies four-square; the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it; a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeds out of the throne; and the tree of life which stands in the midst of the city, and on either side of the river, identifies the new Jerusalem as the restored primeval paradise.

APPENDIX.

Note A. Page 37.

THEORIES RESPECTING AKRA.

The main error of all preceding writers who have investigated the topography of Josephus, consists, as I have already remarked, in their having regarded Akra as distinct from the temple-hill. It will be right that I should mention the principal theories to which this error has given rise, and at the same time point out the special objections to which each theory is liable.

1. Dr Robinson, whose theory demands our first consideration, on acount of the standard reputation that his work has acquired, followed and defended in this as in many other instances what had been the prevalent view of those before him, and identified Akra with the Christian quarter of the modern city. He has succeeded in proving the existence of a valley in antient times stretching eastward from the Yâfa gate along the Khat 'Arset el-Ghalâl, and thus separating his Akra from the Upper City. (See above, p. 271.) But he has not shewn that this valley ever ran into that which traverses Jerusalem from north to south, and that it could therefore be described by Josephus as reaching as far as Siloah. Nor does the Christian quarter of the modern city at all accord with the description Josephus gives of Akra, that it was ἀμφίκυρτος. The general accuracy of Josephus requires that Akra should be a well defined hill, and the quality implied by the word ἀμφίκυρτος a distinguishing feature of it; whereas the ground occupied by the Christian quarter of the modern city is not a distinct hill, but is merely the termination of the long ridge or swell of land which stretches into the city from the north-west. And thus again Dr Robinson's theory contradicts the express words of Josephus, who states that the two hills of Jerusalem were surrounded by deep valleys. The wall of the Christian quarter necessarily runs across the ridge, in a position which is not

naturally well adapted for defence; nor could Tacitus have had this quarter in view, when, extolling the strength of the city, he describes it in a semi-military way as consisting of two hills, raised up to an immense height; (*duos colles, immensum editos*).

2. Mr Williams, the first edition of whose "Holy City" was published in 1845, identifies Akra with the hill of the present Muhammedan quarter. This theory is as inconsistent as Dr Robinson's with the language of Josephus; for the historian describes the city as ἀντιπρόσωπος, built so that one division fronted the other; whereas the hill of the Muhammedan quarter does not front that of the Upper City at all, but stands at cross corners with it; and not only at cross corners, but in such a manner that its south-western corner is considerably higher up the valley than the north-eastern corner of the Upper City. Nor could these two hills have imparted the character of a two-hilled city to Jerusalem. There are not many points of view from which both hills can be seen together, or at least seen both in the foreground. They may indeed be both surveyed from the top of the Mount of Olives; but, as Dr Clarke observes (Travels, IV. p. 350), the impression conveyed to a spectator in this position is that the whole of Jerusalem occupies but one eminence. The hill of the Muhammedan quarter is moreover higher than the site of the temple, whereas Josephus tells us that the height of the Akra or citadel of the Lower City was so reduced that the temple was seen above it. Nor is there any particular propriety in the application of the term ἀμφίκυρτος to this eminence, which is but an ordinary round hill.

3. A nearer approximation to the truth was made by Dr Schultz and Dr Krafft, who suppose Akra to have extended over part of the Haram esh-Sherîf and the adjoining ground, but restrict it to that part of the Haram which was not occupied by the temple; *i. e.* according to Schultz, the northern portion; according to Krafft, the north-western corner. Like the rest, they regard the temple-area as the Third Hill of Josephus; an unfortunate error, which led Dr Schultz into a sea of perplexity in his attempts to explain away what he himself plainly saw to be the true view of the case, that the Akra of Josephus embraces the whole of the temple-hill, the declivity to the south of the temple included. Most of the objections to the theory of Mr Williams will apply in a lesser degree to that now before us. Nor is it probable that the northern and southern portions

of the Haram could ever have been completely divided from each other by a valley. But the principal objection to this theory is the small space which is thus assigned to one of the two principal hills of Jerusalem. In Krafft's plan the whole of the Lower City is compressed within a space of about 15 acres; of which more than a third is occupied by the fortress Antonia.

4. A similar approximation to the truth from the other direction was made by Prof. Justus Olshausen, who had never visited Jerusalem himself, but who in the year 1833 published a small tract on the topography of the city, which may be regarded as the precursor of all the more recent investigations into the subject. He identified Akra with the ridge south of the temple; which, not having sufficiently accurate data on which to proceed, he seems to have regarded as of greater extent than it really is. Unfortunately, Prof. Olshausen fell into the same error with the rest, in placing the temple on the third instead of the second hill of Josephus; and he accordingly made the declivity south of the temple to constitute the whole of Akra instead of merely a part of it. His theory was thus easily overthrown by Dr Robinson, who shewed that no valley could have ever existed between this ridge and the temple.

5. Dr Tobler, who visited Jerusalem first in 1835 and again in 1846, and on the latter occasion spent twenty weeks in fully exploring every part of Jerusalem and its environs, and of whose industrious researches so much use has been made throughout the present volume, identifies the Valley of the Cheesemakers with the slight depression that separates the Armenian and Jewish quarters; thus splitting the Upper City of all other writers into two, and making the western half the Upper City, the eastern half Akra. Even allowing that this slight depression may have been greatly filled up by the accumulation of soil, it seems to be of hardly sufficient importance to correspond to the valley described by Josephus; not to speak of the smallness of the circuit within which Dr Tobler contracts the limits of the Upper and Lower Cities. Moreover Josephus tells us that the temple and Upper City were connected by a bridge (B. J. VI. 6. 2); but according to Tobler, the Lower City must have been interposed between. On the other hand the theory is free to a certain extent from the general objection urged in my foot-note, page 137, note 1.

Note B. Page 60.

SHILOH.

The site of the antient Shiloh was in recent times first brought to light by Dr Robinson in his Biblical Researches, III. pp. 85 seqq. It is situate between Jerusalem and Nâblûs, about twice as far from the former as from the latter; but lies nearly an hour's journey to the east of the main road; the nearest point to it on the road being the village of Lubban, the antient Lebonah. The place still bears in general the name Seilûn; but it is in ruins and uninhabited.

Seilûn is not however the only name that clings to it. When I visited the place in October 1851, on the way from Nâblûs to Jerusalem, we turned off the main road at Lubban, as we had been directed. Our dragoman had never visited Seilûn before; and we did not take any special guide with us. Proceeding therefore up the valley eastward from Lubban, we found that two or three times the valley divided, and we had to trust to chance that we were taking the right route. Fortunately we did not go astray; and we arrived at last at the ruined village, standing on the top of a hill. Close to it, on the southern side, was a little building, the doorway of which was nearly blocked up with earth, and within which was a small room propped up with pillars in the middle. Anxious to ascertain whether the village we had reached was really Seilûn, I looked round for some one of whom to enquire; but there was no one near; nor had we met any one since we left Lubban. Just however as we had finished luncheon beneath a large tree opposite the building of which I have spoken, I saw several persons going along a path a little to the north of where we were. I at once went towards them, and asked the first I met the name of the place. To my great surprise he answered, en-Neby Ahîyah. Where then, I asked, was Seilûn? He pointed to a little building about four minutes' distance to the south. When the man was gone on, I went to the next and made the same enquiries. He gave a similar answer, and for Seilûn he pointed to the same building to the south. On proceeding to this place I found it was a square building, blocked up with thick slanting buttresses or walls: within it were three fragments of pillars and one Corinthian capital. A little way below we found the lid of a sarcophagus; and not far from this the mouth of a well.

The coincidence contained in the name en-Neby Ahîyah, The Prophet Ahijah, was most satisfactory; since Shiloh, as we learn from the Bible, was the city of Ahijah, the prophet of Israel in the days of Jeroboam. I suspect that the building at which we first stopped was either the reputed burial-place of the prophet, or was in some way connected with him. The name en-Neby Ahîyah was not however generally known: on enquiring afterwards of several persons whom we met along the road, near the neighbouring village of Turmus 'Aya, we found that they knew the ruined village only as Seilûn, and of Neby Ahîyah they had never heard. Both the buildings of which I have spoken are noticed by Robinson; Bib. Res. III. pp. 85, 86.

Note C. Page 312.

THE CHURCH OF JUSTINIAN AT JERUSALEM.

About the year A.D. 530, the emperor Justinian erected at Jerusalem a magnificent church which he dedicated to the Mother of God, and which, in conformity with the Western usage, we may designate as the Church of St Mary. A detailed account of the building of this edifice has been given us by the historian Procopius. (De Ædificiis Just. v. 6.) It has been very generally and justly identified with the existing Mosk el-Aksa; which is still known by the Latins as the Church of the Presentation. The grounds of the identification may be seen in the works of Robinson and Williams (Bib. Res. I. p. 438, Holy City, II. p. 368 seqq.); and the recent objection of Tobler (Topographie, I. p. 581) that the Aksa does not fulfil the condition of standing on the *loftiest* hill of Jerusalem, even if it be not founded upon a mistranslation of the Greek word used by Procopius, can hardly be considered of much weight, when it is remembered that the historian was not an eye-witness of what he describes. Viewed merely in itself, the account of the construction of this church would not come within the limits of the present volume; but it cannot be altogether passed over in silence, owing to its bearing on the question how far the existing Haram walls are to be identified with those of the antient Jewish temple.

Procopius relates that Justinian having directed that a church of a certain specified length and breadth should be erected on the loftiest or most prominent (τῷ προὔχοντι) of the hills of Jerusalem, it was

found that there was not sufficient space on the hill for the execution of the emperor's order. The fourth part of the ground required for the temple (τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ τεταρτημόριον) was wanting, towards the south and east, where according to custom the priests perform the sacred rites. The builders accordingly contrived the following plan. They laid out their foundations at the extremity of the sloping ground, and raised up a wall to the same height as the rock; and above this they constructed a series of arched vaults, by means of which they raised the ground to the level of the rest of the enclosure. So far as this description can be understood, nothing can correspond better with what we know of the state of the south-eastern corner of the Haram. Externally, the Haram walls at this corner, consisting of fifteen visible courses of bevelled masonry, present a nearly uniform appearance from top to bottom, a height of seventy feet; but while the space enclosed by the lower portion of the walls is inaccessible, and may for aught we know to the contrary contain a mass of solid rock, (though it has more probably been merely filled in with earth,) the space above, which is enclosed by the upper seven or eight courses of the masonry, is occupied by a series of vaulted substructions on which the floor of the Haram rests. If then we may trust the account of Procopius, the whole of these portions of the Haram walls must be ascribed to the architects of Justinian. Procopius himself speaks of the immense size of the stones employed: each separate block was drawn on a waggon from the neighbouring quarry by a train of forty choice oxen: he also makes mention of the skill with which the blocks were polished; though there is no occasion to assume (as has been suggested,) that the terms used by Procopius refer to the process of bevelling. But although Justinian was thus the first to raise up the south-eastern corner of the Haram to its present height, it cannot be admitted that he was the first to enclose it. If the remainder of the southern and eastern walls of the Haram date from an earlier period, it seems hardly to need proof that the rectangle had been completed, and that the south-eastern corner was not excluded from the previously existing area. And therefore I am disposed to suspect (though the point is by no means material to my argument) that part of the walls that Procopius has ascribed to Justinian's architects was found by them ready built to their hand; and that the lower courses of the masonry of which we have been speaking were the work of Herod. Some ground for such a suspicion is furnished by the great

depth of the eighth or middle course of blocks, (as represented in Mr Tipping's drawing,) which seems to indicate either the completion of the old wall, or the commencement of a new one. As Justinian's workmen would make their work correspond as nearly as possible with the old, it might hardly be expected that the fruits of the respective labours of Herod and Justinian could be easily distinguished at the present day. Yet in truth it has been recently remarked that while "the lower courses from their immense size and regularity appear as if unchanged," "the upper are less regular, and there is in many places an appearance of reconstruction at a later age."—(Bartlett, Jerusalem Revisited, p. 149.)

But the author of the "Holy City," in his chapter on the Temple-mount, propounds the theory that the whole of the southern portion of the Haram was first enclosed by Justinian; and bases his argument on this passage of Procopius. It does not bear out his theory; for as Procopius distinctly states that only the fourth part of the space required for the new church was wanting, and as the height of the southern Haram wall proves that the level of the whole of the southern portion of the area is artificial, it follows that the other three quarters had been raised, whether by means of substructions or embankments, before Justinian's time. Again, Procopius states that the deficient quarter lay towards the *south* and *east;* whereas Mr Williams proposes more particularly to add on another arcade at the *western* extremity, beyond the present western wall, in order to bring in the arch of which the massive fragment still remains. But against this the objection of Dr Robinson seems decisive, that the arch does not commence for a distance of 39 feet from the southern wall, and then extends northwards only 51 feet; and if the accuracy of Mr Tipping's drawings may be trusted, the walls are still in a sufficient state of preservation to shew that the arch could never have reached any further south than at present.

It has indeed been alleged, that the Church of St Mary could not have stood on any part of the area of the Jewish temple, because a feeling of pious horror would have restrained Justinian from building on that site. But the earliest author whose writings in any degree corroborate this surmise is the patriarch Eutychius, in the tenth century; and his testimony comes too late to be of much value. And the way in which the crusaders habitually designated the Mosk el-Aksa as the Temple of Solomon, though it can hardly be regarded as

evidence that it really occupied its site, shews at least that they had no scruples on the subject. But in truth there are indications in the narrative of Procopius that Justinian intended his edifice to be a sort of Christian rebuilding of the temple of Solomon. The fact that he speaks of it not as a church—ἐκκλησία—but as a temple—ἱερόν—is not to be overlooked; though it may be that the latter had now become the customary designation of a Christian place of worship. However this may be, the cedar with which the Church of St Mary was roofed, and the two magnificent columns which stood before the entrance, the counterparts of Solomon's Jachin and Boaz, clearly prove, as Krafft has justly remarked, that the emperor's design was to rival the work of his great Jewish predecessor. We are told by Procopius (B. V. II. 9) that the spoils of the temple, which had been removed to Rome by Titus, and thence carried off by the Vandals, and had subsequently been recovered from them by the arms of Belisarius, were sent by Justinian to the temples of the Christians in Jerusalem; and it is by no means unlikely that it was in the emperor's own church that they were really deposited, as being the place whither they were considered properly to belong. And could there be any doubt as to which was habitually uppermost in Justinian's mind, the feeling of pious horror or of devout vanity, it would surely be removed by the exclamation to which he gave vent at the consecration of the Cathedral of the Aya Sophia at Constantinople: "I have vanquished thee, O Solomon!"

Note D.

TRADITIONS RESPECTING THE SAKHRAH, ETC.

The earliest distinct mention of the present Sakhrah, or Sacred Rock of the Musulmans, over which the Great Mosk of Jerusalem is built, appears to be that by the Bordeaux pilgrim, A.D. 333; who, among the other objects of interest in the eastern part of the city, speaks of a certain *lapis pertusus*, to which the Jews resorted once a year, and which they anointed with oil, uttering a mournful wail and rending their garments. This ceremony reminds us of Jacob's anointing of the stone on which he slept at Bethel, and which, on rising in the morning, he set up for a pillar. (Gen. xxviii. 18.) It may be conjectured that even at this early period the more illiterate of the Jews, by whom, probably, this ceremony was performed, believed the

rock at Jerusalem to be the very stone on which Jacob had slept; and if so, we may from this circumstance learn how thoroughly the Jews had in the fourth century forgotten the true geography of the former land of their inheritance. Of this popular Jewish tradition I have discovered no trace for the next thousand years. But in the writings of Felix Fabri in the 15th century we find the name Bethel distinctly applied to the Great Mosk. He says the pagans (i.e. the Musulmans) called it Halachibis (probably el-Kubbet, i.e. the Dome); the educated Christians Bethel; the vulgar and illiterate the Temple of Solomon. And he tells us that one of the Muhammedan traditions relating to the rock, a tradition which without doubt they had borrowed from the Jews, was that the patriarch Jacob had slept there, with this rock for his pillow, and from it had in his dream beheld a ladder the top of which reached to heaven, and angels descending and ascending upon it; and that he had anointed it with oil in the morning. (F. Fabri, in Bibliothek des Lit. Vereins, Stuttgart, 1843. III. pp. 209, 218, 221.)

The Author of the "Holy City," who identifies the Sakhrah as the place of the Jewish altar, endeavours by a comparison of the Bordeaux itinerary with a notice of Jerome, to shew that there was, or that there may have been, a tradition current among the Christians of the fourth century to this effect. (Holy City, II. p. 340.) But for this there is hardly a semblance of proof. Indeed that the Bordeaux pilgrim ever suspected the perforated stone of which he speaks to mark the site of the Jewish altar is highly improbable; for he does not drop the slightest hint of any such suspicion, although he had occasion only a sentence or two before to make mention of the altar in connexion with the murder of Zechariah, the marks of whose blood he asserts to have been still visible. He says that the perforated stone was not far (*non longe*) from the statues of Hadrian; and Jerome, in his commentary on St Matthew, incidentally states that the equestrian statue of Hadrian, which was still standing even to the time that he wrote, occupied the site of the Holy of Holies. (Opp. VII. p. 194. ed. Vallars.) But this latter assertion must be received with some caution. It is after all, a mere passing notice, introduced into his commentary for the sake of effect. It is extremely uncertain what means Jerome had of knowing whether a statue which was set up more than two centuries and a half before he wrote occupied the site of the Holy of Holies or not; and his inaccurate minuteness with

regard to the shrine and idol that he describes as standing upon the rock Golgotha and over the Holy Sepulchre, warns us not to place too much dependence upon the details of his testimony.

Jerome, as we have seen, makes mention of only a single statue. The Bordeaux pilgrim speaks of two; and though he calls them both Hadrian's, De Saulcy has shewn good reason for assuming that the one was a statue of Hadrian, the other of Antoninus Pius; and has ingeniously conjectured, with great probability, that it was to the pedestal of the latter statue that a certain inscription belonged, which has been subsequently built in, in an inverted position, into the southern wall of the Haram. Now as workmen do not go out of their way to pick up old stones when they have plenty near them, this circumstance might, if Jerome's assertion with respect to the position of the statue be assumed to be correct, be thought to furnish some slight evidence for the southerly position of the temple. I mention the matter as one of curiosity rather than of importance; and as shewing how easily, from mere passing notices such as those of Jerome, arguments of a not very convincing kind might be drawn one way as well as another.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.

Fig. 1. Conjectural representation of the pillar Jachin of Solomon's temple.

Fig. 2. Capital of the column in the centre of the corridor beneath the Mosk el-Aksa. From the woodcut in Fergusson's Essay.

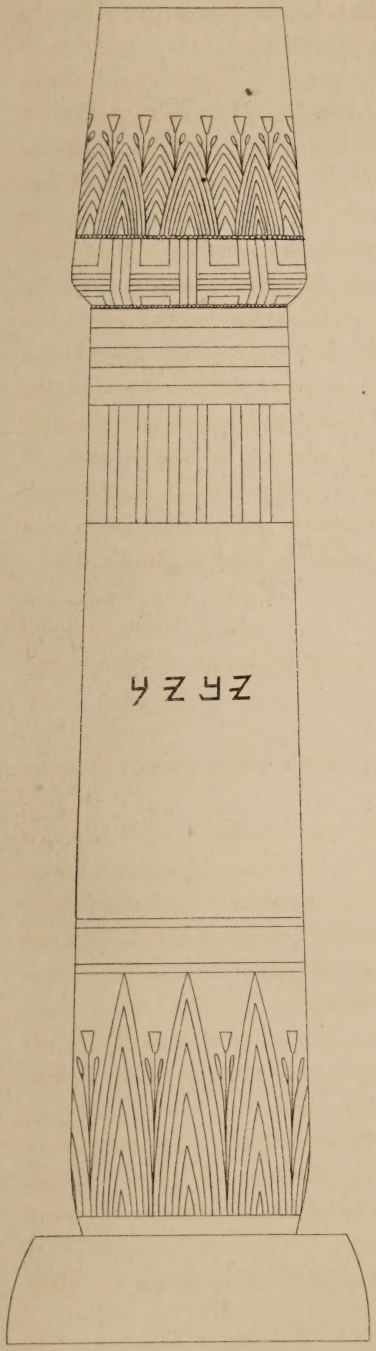
Fig. 3. Plan of the entrance from the vestibule to the antechamber of the Kubûr el-Mulûk; with the corridors designed for the purpose of removing and replacing the discus by which the entrance was guarded. From the drawings of De Saulcy.

Fig. 4. The same, from Bernardino Amico, Trattato delle Piante ed Immagini dei Sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa: Firenze, 1620. *a*, The discus; *b*, the entrance.

Fig. 5. The Holy Sepulchre, in its present state; from the plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by Borstell, in Tobler's Topographie, Vol. I. The building at the left hand or western extremity is a small chapel belonging to the Copts.

Fig. 6. Conjectural representation of the cliff in which the Holy

Fig. 1.



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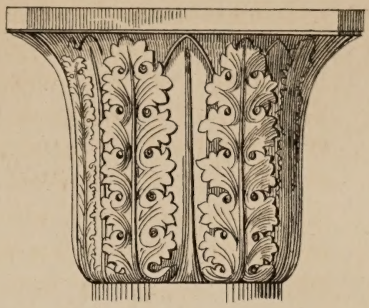

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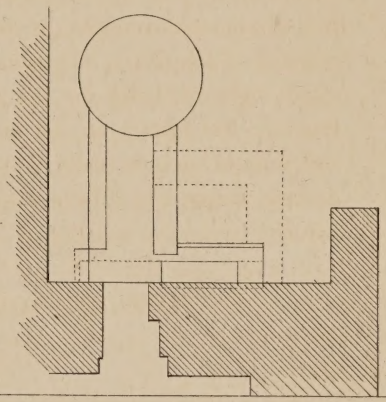

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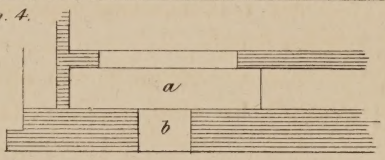

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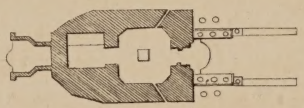

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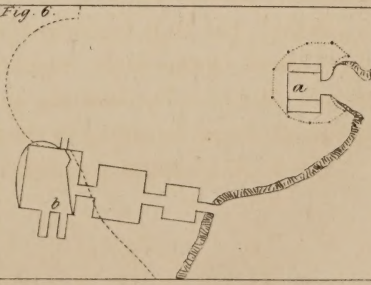

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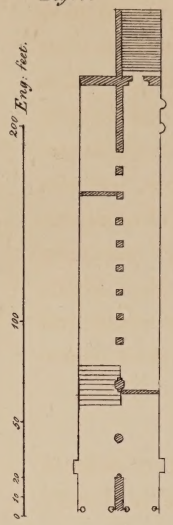
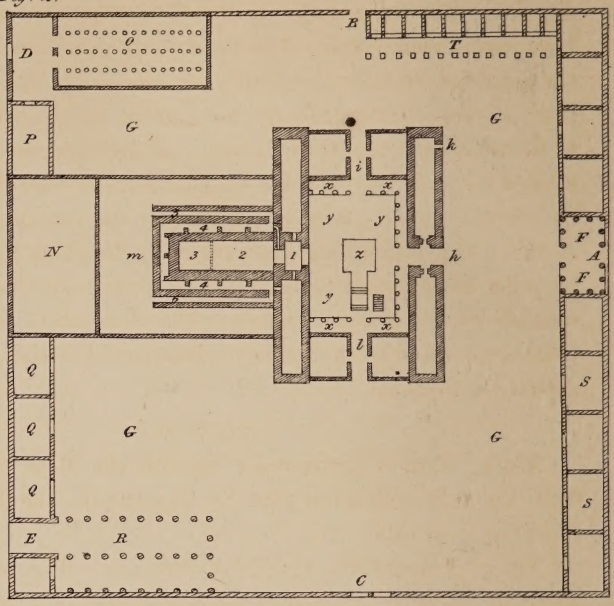
Malcolfe & Palmer, Lith.

Fig. 1.



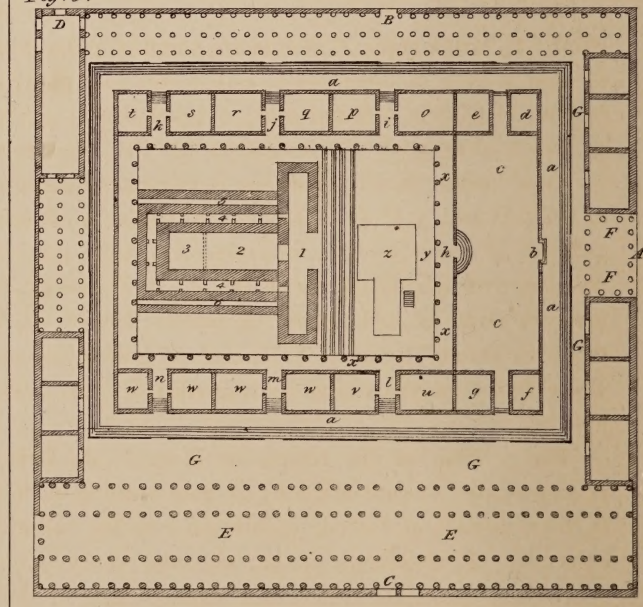
CORRIDOR
beneath the Mosk
EL-AKSA.

Fig. 2.



TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

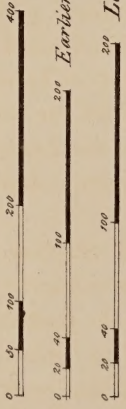
Fig. 3.



TEMPLE OF HEROD.

Scale for Plate 2, figs 2, 3, and Plate 3, fig. 1.

1 : 2400



Sepulchre was excavated. *a*, the Holy Sepulchre as it would have been had it been completed in the manner usual among the Jews; but the sepulchre in reality contains but one tomb, that on the northern side; on the southern side of the chamber no tomb was ever formed. *b*, the so-named tombs of Joseph and Nicodemus: I have here exhibited not only the probable original form of the chamber, but also its present form; guided principally by the drawings of Bernardino Amico. The dotted lines shew the shape to which the rock was hewn by order of Constantine, in order to make room for the floor of the rotunda of the present church. The delineation of the sepulchral chambers leading to the tombs of Joseph and Nicodemus is of course entirely conjectural.

PLATE II.

Fig. 1. Plan of the corridor beneath the Mosk el-Aksa; reduced from the very extensive plan by Tipping, in the Notes to Traill's Josephus, I. p. xxiv.

Fig. 2. Plan of the temple of Solomon. The parts which were added by Solomon's successors are represented in a lighter shade. In this and the following plans the large letters refer to the outer enclosure; the small letters to the inner enclosure; the numbers to the sanctuary and its immediate appendages.

A, East gate; B, sheep-gate; C, southern gate; D, gate Shallecheth; E, king's gate; F, Solomon's porch of pillars; G, outer court; *h*, eastern gate of inner court, called also new gate; *i*, prison-gate; *k*, gate Miphkad; *l*, water-gate; *x*, great court; *y*, court of priests; *z*, brasen altar with the ascent to it: the steps to the south-east are those leading directly from the right-hand entrance at C; 1, porch; 2, Holy Place; 3, Holy of Holies, or Oracle; 4, sidechambers; 5, 6, galleries or places for the waterpipes; *m*, back part of inner court; N, space over the sepulchres of David; O, House of Forest of Lebanon; P, house of high-priest; Q, priests' houses; R, covert for sitting; S, priests' houses; T, bazaar of goldsmiths and merchants. These latter portions must be regarded for the most part as conjectural.

Fig. 3. Plan of the temple of Herod. A, Gate of Shushan; B, sheep-gate; C, gate Huldah; D, gate opening on to the causeway; E, royal portico of Herod, with steps into the valley at the western extremity; F, Solomon's porch; G, outer court; *a*, hel or terrace, approached by twelve or fourteen steps; *b*, gate of Corinthian brass,

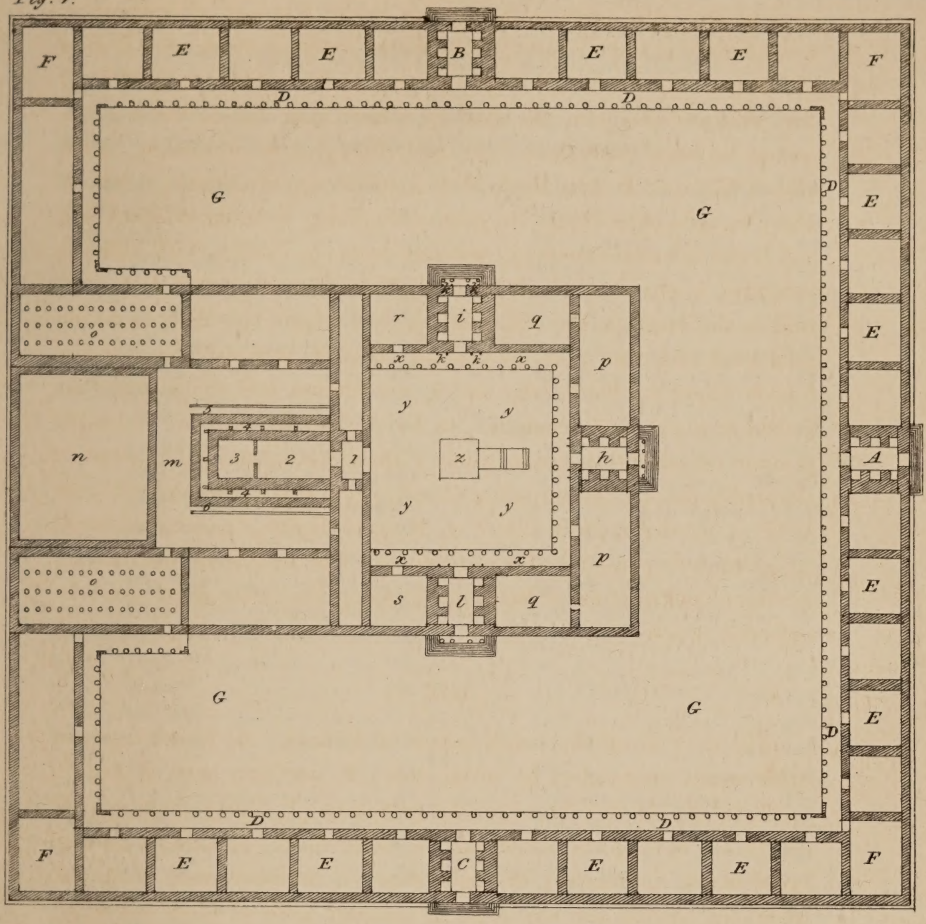
or Beautiful gate, approached by five steps; *c*, court of women; *d*, wood-house; *e*, lepers' room; *f*, Nazarites' room; *g*, oil-house; *h*, gate of Nicanor, approached by fifteen steps; *i*, gate of song, or sparkling: this was probably also the gate by which king Jehoiachin was reported to have gone forth into captivity; *j*, gate of women, called also of Corban; *k*, gate Meth Mokad, called also of Corban; *l*, water-gate; *m*, gate of firstlings; *n*, gate of kindling; *o*, house of sparkling, and house of stone-vessels; *p*, washing-room; *q*, Parbah, with bath; *r*, treasury; *s*, chamber of salt; *t*, Beth Mokad; *u*, draw-well room: the well in this room is the still existing well within the Mosk el-Aksa: connected with this room, or perhaps above it, was also the chamber Gazith where the Sanhedrim sat; *v*, wood-house, and above this, Parhedrin or high-priest's chamber; *w*, Levites' wards; *x*, court of Israel; *y*, court of priests; *z*, brasen altar, with the ascent to it: the steps to the south-east are those leading directly from the right-hand entrance at C; 1, porch; 2, Holy Place; 3, Holy of Holies; 4, sidechambers; 5, gallery; 6, place for the waterpipes. The lengths of the eastern, northern, and western cloisters surrounding the outer court must be regarded as conjectural.

PLATE III.

Fig. 1. Plan of the vision-temple of Ezekiel. A, Eastern gate of utter court, approached by seven steps; B, northern gate of do.; C, southern gate of do.; D, tesselated pavement; E, thirty chambers; F, courts for boiling the sacrifices; G, utter court; *h*, eastern gate of inner court, approached by eight steps; *i*, northern gate of do.; *k*, tables for slaying the sacrifices; *l*, southern gate of inner court; *p*, holy chambers of the priests; *q*, priests' kitchens; *r*, chamber for the priests the keepers of the charge of the house; *s*, chamber for the priests the keepers of the charge of the altar; *x*, cloister; *y*, inner court; *z*, brasen altar with the ascent to it; 1, porch; 2, Holy Place; 3, Holy of Holies; 4, sidechambers; 5, 6, fountains, or galleries for the waterpipes; *m*, separate place or gizrah; *n*, space enclosed by partition-wall; *o*, priests' vestries and refectories.

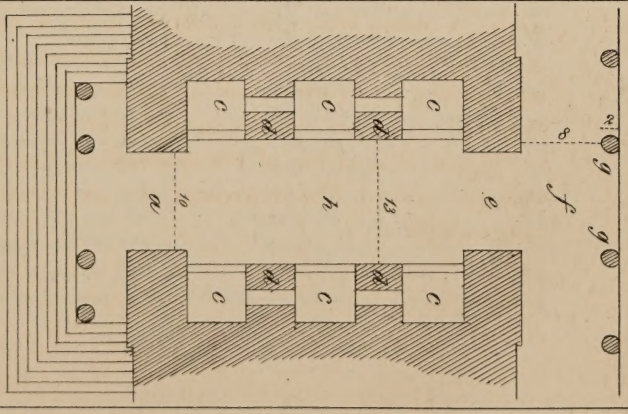
Fig. 2. Plan of one of the gateways of the inner court, upon an enlarged scale. The references are explained in the text: see above, p. 381.

Fig. 1.



TEMPLE OF EZEKIEL.

Fig. 2.



One of the Gateways of the Inner Court of the Temple of Ezekiel on an enlarged scale.

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